CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION, PERSONALITY TYPE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard University

by

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September 1950

Hu 90.6071

Final Examination
May 22, 1950
1:30 o'clock
Emerson 301

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM

A Study in the Sociology of Religion, Personality Type and Social Structure

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Abstract

The fact that the man in the street can dismiss Christian Science by attaching the derogatory label of magic as an indictment goes far to confirm Max Weber's view that magic has been all but driven from the West. Yet what is the status of his conclusion that ascetic Protestantism was a major factor in this process if it is objected that Christian Science, a species of magic according to so penetrating an observer as the late Bronislaw Malinowski, emerged from the heart of New England Protestantism? Clearly, a review of the evidence is in order: What are the empirical and theoretical grounds for attributing the disappearance of magic in part to ascetic Protestantism? What indeed is the content of the terms magic, ritual, prayer, etc. as used by laymen, Christian Scientists and social scientists? Unquestionably, here is a test case for a proposition advanced before Christian Science had become a subject of study:

> "Magical ritual is a logical derivation from the idea of impersonal orders of sacred forces within the universe while religious ritual implies "wilful" entities, transcendent or immanent, capable of influencing the universe."

Is Christian Science a Protestant sect after all? If so, in what sense? In any event there could be little hope of solving these problems without precise and systematic formulation of the concepts basic to any work in the sociology of religion. Hence the first chapter is devoted to a detailed discussion of these instruments.

Subsidiary but indispensable to the main problem and its elucidation is the necessity of establishing what is meant by Protestantism. Only then would it be possible to answer the question: Is Christian Science a Protestant sect? The subsequent query - In what sense is or is not Christian Science a Protestant sect? - implies that there may be a number of criteria for defining Protestantism, that a religious movement may be Protestant on one level and something else on another. Therefore attention will be focussed upon certain broad doctrinal and psychological differences which, it is believed, characterize several important Christian faiths. Among the psychological differences are those bound up with attitudes towards one's fellows; the derivation, patterning and ethical implications of such attitudes will constitute the substance of the second chapter. The dual typology of human relationships set out in this chapter prepares the ground for the next two in which the influences of ascetic Protestantism and Lutheranism, the two main subdivisions for this study, upon the basic personality type and social structure of English and German-speaking peoples respectively are examined. It is shown that there are deep and pervasive differences which correspond broadly to an institutionalization of emphasis on the "exchange" and "coercive" elements in the typology of human relationships previously analyzed.

The elaboration of ascetic Protestant and Lutheran modal presonalities provides the standards for comparison with characteristics of the founder of Christian Science and of her creation. The examination in chapter five of certain of Mary Baker Eddy's personality traits and relations with others will constitute a first approach to the exposition of relevant factors in the subsequent analysis. Then, in the following chapter, what amounts to a Paretan analysis of the contents of The Christian Science Monitor will amplify and document in detail the implications suggested by Mrs. Eddy's case history.

Up to this point the main reliance will have been upon the method of agreement. But indispensible as this method may be, the crucial test of an hypothesis lies in the method of difference. The logic of experiment requires the construction or finding of situations in which the putative causal factor is absent, significantly diminished or substantially altered. If, then, a characteristic ascetic Protestant phenomenon is selected, it may be predicted that the phenomenon will be found in ascetic Protestant societies and wholly or substantially absent in non-ascetic Protestant areas. To be sure this approach had already appeared in the Lutheran study since contrasting aspects of German and English-speaking societies were under review. But there cannot be too many relevant cases for the testing of scientific hypotheses.

Therefore what is considered to be a uniquely ascetic Protestant phenomenon, the New Year's resolution, is examined for its origin and distribution in the modern Western culture area in chapter seven. If Christian Science is a genuinely ascetic Protestant movement its distribution should parallel that of ascetic Protestantism and the New Year's resolution.

Still another crucial experiment is available. The problem of the influence of ascetic Protestantism upon modern science is a much debated one, but, so far as the writer is aware, the discussion has been confined predominantly, whether directly or indirectly, to two major approaches. Weber, Durkheim, de Candolle and Merton, for example, have maintained that a positive influence has existed, and pointed to the focusing of cognitive interest on and the intellectual freedom for empirical investigation afforded by various elements of the Protestant creed. On the other hand, Sorokin ignores arguments of this order and assembles data on scientific discoveries and inventions to refute the purported relation.

The general tenor of this study suggests, however, a somewhat different attack upon the problem. Even should one grant what does not seem to be the case, a uniform cognitive interest in empirical research having to do with the physical world on the part of Catholicism and Protestantism, it may be that a certain personality trait facilitates the process whereby scientific discoveries and technological inventions are achieved. But if ascetic Protestantism fosters a personality type in which this trait is conspicuous, then the statistical data ought to reveal a more than proportionate contribution by ascetic Protestants at a time when this personality type was in full vigor - due qualification being made of course for other important and relevant conditions. The justification for the inclusion here, chapter seven, of what might otherwise appear to be an irrelevant problem hinges upon the fact that the trait in question occupies a central position in the determination of the relation between ascetic Protestantism and Christian Science.

The penultimate chapter deals with Christian Science as a method for the achievement of human purposes and as a manifestation of ascetic Protestant personality type. It is concluded that Malinowski's judgment as to the magical nature of Christian Science is correct. But inasmuch as all the evidence heretofore presented affirms the ascetic Protestant nature of Christian Science and its founder on the level of personality type, the problem remains: In what sense is Christian Science not Protestant?

Since this faith is substantially a system of magic and the latter implies an attitude to and conception of the non-empirical different from if not opposed to that underlying "religous" behavior, the final chapter adduces evidence indicating how Christian Science derives from Christianity and Judaism. It is shown that the Christian Science conception of the nonempirical as impersonal and immanent is the ultimate development of tendencies at once peripheral to the orthodox Hebrew view of the personal transcendental nature of an omnipotent God and central to traditional Christian conceptions uniting these logically opposed views in an uneasy balance. Christian Science is one of a number of authentic ascetic Protestant responses in various spheres to strains set up in the personalities affected by its discipline. The orientation toward control of the physical and social environment embraced the nonempirical as well. Christian Science is the polar development of ascetic Protestant tendencies toward the transformation of the omnipotent and transcendental personal God of the Old Testament into a dependable impersonal and immanent force available for man's disposal.

PREFACE

The fact that the man in the street can dismiss Christian Science by attaching the derogatory label of magic as an indictment goes far to confirm Max Weber's view that magic has been all but driven from the West. Yet what is the status of his conclusion that ascetic Protestantism was a major factor in this process if it is objected that Christian Science, a species of magic according to so penetrating an observer as the late Bronislaw Malinowski, emerged from the heart of New England Protestantism? Clearly, a review of the evidence is in order: What are the empirical and theoretical grounds for attributing the disappearance of magic in part to ascetic Protestantism? What indeed is the content of the terms magic, ritual, prayer, etc. as used by laymen, Christian Scientists and social scientists? Unquestionably, here is a test case for a proposition advanced before Christian Science had become a subject of study: "Magical ritual is a logical derivation from the idea of impersonal orders of sacred forces within the universe while religious ritual implies 'wilful' entities, transcendent or immanent, capable of influencing the universe." Is Christian Science a Protestant sect after all? If so, in what sense? In any event there can be little hope of solving these problems without precise and systematic formulation of the concepts basic to any work in the sociology of religion.

Prior to and inescapably interrelated with the problem of conceptual definition is that of the situation which gives rise to the phenomena defined. Analysis of the sociological setting of magical and religious behavior involves recognition of certain typical physiological and psychological reactions on the part of those affected, reactions which are congruent with and help explain characteristic features of the sociological and cultural responses. Acceptance of the fact that anxiety is inherent in what is called the "broken-pattern" situation to which nonlogical action is a response leads to another problem. Since magic is not a universal phenomenon as might be expected if biological factors alone were at work cultural and sociological influences may account for its distribution. Sociocultural patterns, therefore, may be related to varying levels of anxiety and the ability to withstand it, levels and abilities which are apparently "built into" the human organism and personality. Because childhood is the period when the main personality traits are laid down and capacities for control of the external world are developed it follows that differences in rearing patterns may be correlated with levels of anxiety and modes of reaction to it. Since childhood's most conspicuous characteristic for present purposes is its similarity to the situation leading to magical and religious action, and since these are distinguishable in part on the basis of modes of appeal to supernaturals, the next step would appear to be an examination of rearing patterns which might bear upon the typically preferred modes of responding to anxiety situations. The initial chapter, therefore, provides the foundation for the main body of the study by analyzing (1) the sociological aspects of the broken-pattern situation, (2) its physiological correlates, (3) the nature of magical and religious action, and, finally, those typical differences in ethical attitudes which seem to be associated with rearing patterns emphasizing what is termed the "coercive" and "exchange" elements in human action.

Subsidiary but indispensable to the main problem and its elucidation is the necessity of establishing what is meant by Protestantism. Only then would it be possible to answer the question: Is Christian Science a Protestant sect? The subsequent query--In what sense is or is not Christian Science a Protestant sect?--implies that there may be a number of criteria for defining Protestantism, that a religious movement may be Protestant on one level and something else on another. Therefore attention will be focussed in the second chapter upon certain broad doctrinal and psychological features of ascetic Protestantism. The fundamental importance of this elaboration of ascetic Protestant modal personality and social structure is that it provides the standards for comparison with characteristics of the founder of Christian Science and of her creation. The examination in chapter three of certain of Mary Baker Eddy's personality traits and relations with others will constitute a first approach to the exposition of relevant factors in the subsequent analysis. Then, in the following chapter, what amounts to a Paretan analysis of the contents of The Christian Science Monitor will amplify and document in detail the implications suggested by Mrs. Eddy's case history.

Up to this point the main reliance will have been upon the method of agreement. But indispensable as this method may be, the crucial test of an hypothesis lies in the method of difference. The logic of experiment requires the construction or finding of situations in which the putative causal factor is absent, significantly diminished or substantially altered. If, then, a characteristic ascetic Protestant phenomenon is selected, it may be predicted that the phenomenon will be found in ascetic Protestant societies and wholly or substantially absent in non-ascetic Protestant areas. Therefore, what is considered to be a uniquely ascetic Protestant phenomenon, the New Year's resolution, is examined for its origin and distribution in the modern Western culture area in chapter five. If Christian Science is a genuinely ascetic Protestant movement its distribution should parallel that of ascetic Protestantism and the New Year's resolution. The evidence for latter is, however, too bulky for presentation in detail, and is primarily of methodological importance. It is for these reasons that a condensation of the New Year's resolution findings is presented in an appendix with most of chapter five devoted to detailed analysis of the distribution of Christian Science influence in the West.

The penultimate chapter deals with Christian Science as a method for the achievement of human purposes and as a manifestation of ascetic Protestant personality type. It is concluded that Malinowski's judgment as to the magical nature of Christian Science is correct. But inasmuch as all the evidence heretofore presented affirms the ascetic Protestant nature of Christian Science and its founder on the psychological level, the problem remains: In what sense is Christian Science *not* Protestant?

Since this faith is substantially a system of magic and the latter implies an attitude to and a conception of the nonempirical different from, if not opposed to, those underlying "religious" behavior, the final chapter adduces evidence indicating how it was possible for the Christian Science religious beliefs to develop out of those constituting traditional Judaism and Christianity. It turns out that Christian Science is one of a number of authentic ascetic Protestant responses in various spheres to strains set up in the personalities affected by ascetic Protestant discipline in the context of the social structure it had so profoundly influenced. The transformation of traditional Christian ideas about the supernatural provides the solution to the apparent conflict between Max Weber's and Bronislaw Malinowski's views and confirms the hypothesis concerning the relation between conceptions of the nonempirical and religious and magical action.

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CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTS

I. THE BROKEN-PATTERN SITUATION

Sociological aspects. The use of a number of terms, God, witches, supernatural, nonempirical, etc., in what purports to be a scientific work, requires explanation. The simple, obvious, even banal distinction between propositions and their referents, between statements about and that about which statements are made, between beliefs and the objects of belief is basic to this and, indeed, to any scientific study of social phenomena. Throughout the monograph it is taken for granted that the ontological status of the referents of these and similar concepts is irrelevant; as nonempirical entities they are, by definition, beyond the realm of empirical observation, not amenable to investigation according to the canons and criteria of empirical science. The latter concerns itself with the sequence of empirical events,[1] not with the concept of an eternal and unchanging reality which arises as part of the religious solution to the perplexities and confusion of a disorderly world.[2]

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[1] Weber, 1946, p. 147. All references are listed alphabetically and then chronologically in the bibliography.

[2] Cohen, 1944, pp. 16-17.

But if the scientist must remain agnostic about the existential status of the nonempirical, he can and does apply his method to the examination of the field of empirical objects which embraces not only the physical universe and its tangible contents but the propositions and other modes of expression which men have created. The empirical nature of propositions and men and their interrelations is beyond dispute; their existential status is subject to public verification according to the canons and criteria of science. It is because empirical consequences issue from propositions, correct or incorrect, about the empirical or nonempirical that the social scientist accepts as a datum the definition of the situation held by individuals and groups.[1] This fact, however, does not license the scientific observer to overstep the boundary between empirical and transcendental or confuse the truth of a proposition with its social utility.[2]

Before defining the concepts central to the present study it is convenient to ascertain the main features of the situation in which religious phenomena arise by way of an examination of Durkheim's and Malinowski's views on the subject.

Despite the former's denial that religion originated in feelings of weakness, dependency, and fear[1] his analysis of sacrifice among the Australian aborigines stresses the importance of seasonal fluctuations, their effect upon the flora and fauna fundamental to the natives' existence and, consequently, the latter's reactions to the periodic crises with which they are confronted and about which something must be done.[2] But the emotions aroused by these periodic crises can hardly be other than fear and anguish, feelings of weakness and dependency, when people are faced with threats to their very lives. If, however, crises are to be met, a sense of confidence is of prime functional importance; and this confidence which comes from a feeling of strength is precisely the outcome when men unite in religious ceremonies.[3] The believer derives strength and confidence and the comfort associated with them because he is dependent upon a sacred entity which, he feels, will aid him in a crisis. But a problem, not a genuine crisis, would exist if those involved knew or believed that they could solve a difficulty with the empirical means (including knowledge) at their disposal. Obviously a crisis for one may be only a problem for another whose greater knowledge and skill are relevant. The essential nature of crisis then lies in the absence of empirical knowledge adequate to the solution of emotionally important problems. In this sense one essential characteristic of religion is precisely that which Durkheim denies: that the supernatural comprises the mysterious, the unknowable, the un-understandable, that which is beyond the limits of knowledge.[1]

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[1] Znaniecki, 1940, pp. 5-6.

[2] As does Toynbee, for example, 1947, p. 524.

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[1] 1947, pp. 223-224.

[2] Ibid., p. 246.

[3] Ibid., pp. 323-324, 346, 416.

Durkheim's objections to this view miss the main point. It may be granted that much if not all of the mystery surrounding the religion of nonliterate peoples has been imputed to it by modern observers. Further, it may be agreed that the religious believer, literate or nonliterate, need see nothing difficult or mysterious in his explanations of phenomena or in the sacred forces which he puts into operation--no more so than the patient who takes for granted that the physician can cure him; he finds nothing mysterious or un-understandable about it. But this is no ground for denying that he is in a situation the solution of which confessedly transcends his knowledge. Nor can it be denied that the patient derives a feeling of confidence, strength, and comfort from his dependency upon someone to whom he attributes knowledge and ability greater than his own in a situation which is emotionally significant to him.[2]

For Durkheim the personal or impersonal nature of the entity from which believers derive courage and confidence is secondary[1] to the distinction between the sacred and secular, a distinction manifested by the attitude of respect shown to the former. It is because the sacred entities and processes to which religious rites, beliefs and symbols refer are beyond empirical experience and scientific examination that the social scientist is entitled to equate the sacred and the supernatural.[2] Further, the diversity of manifest purposes served by a single religious rite indicates that the function of rites consists in the latent effect produced, the creation of confidence among the participants.[3] Beyond this, however, Durkheim derives from the diversity of ends a distinction between religious and magical ritual whereby the latter is oriented toward technical and utilitarian ends but, unlike the former, does not unite its adherents into a single moral community.[4] These criteria cannot, as stated, be accepted since on Durkheim's own showing it is evident that religious rites also have technical and utilitarian ends[5] while morally disinterested and socially integrative motivation may be aroused in behalf of these self-same ends.[1] Indeed it would not be possible to classify Buddhism with its asocial indifference to this world[2] as a religious phenomenon as Durkheim does if the morally and socially integrative element were rigidly applied as a standard.

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[1] P. 24.

[2] Marett is another observer who is constrained to admit that analysis of the religious attitude reveals its true nature to be ". . . a bitter-sweet blend of fear and hope . . . of humility and confidence." (1935, pp. 94, 117.)

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[1] P. 321.

[2] Without, however, necessarily implying that literate or nonliterate religious believers have attained to the modern distinction between the order of nature and the supernatural.

[3] P. 386.

[4] Pp. 42-45.

[5] Pp. 330-333.

Both religion and magic then are reactions to an anxiety situation in which emotionally important interests are threatened and where the actor feels impelled to resort to nonempirical agencies whose knowledge and power transcend his own. It has already been suggested that this type situation, that of crisis, is relative as among individuals with different degrees of knowledge and skill. But the relativity of crisis also varies with the nature of the emotionally important interests, empirical and otherwise, as well as the relation between interests and the means of attaining them. The anxiety characteristic of crisis situations is therefore associated with a gap between aspiration level and estimation of achievement possibilities. There is of course a wide range in intensity of anxiety as well as in normal levels of it in different societies and the capacity to withstand anxiety tensions; it may be supposed that religious and magical action are resorted to as the tension becomes or promises to become disquieting. The situation is rendered even more complicated by conscious and subconscious conflicts among interests, legitimate and other, as well as by alternatives other than religious and magical action.

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[1] A major source of confusion which plagued not only Durkheim but his critics (for example, W. L. Warner, 1936) is the inclusion of socially approved magical practices, "white" magic, in the category of religious ritual. It then followed that only "individualistic" or socially disruptive practices constituted "magic," that magic did not unite its followers into a moral community and that magic and religion were antagonistic.

[2] Parsons, 1937, p. 563.

It is thus the function of beliefs, rites and symbols with nonempirical referents to bridge the gap between aspiration and achievement, to allay the anxiety-tension associated with crisis situations. It is to ideas of this type that respect is accorded and it is because these ideas are held in common that society can exercise moral authority. It is not that the authority of the group confers sanctity but that the individual endows the group with authority by conforming to ideas he shares with others; otherwise a social sanction is no more sacred than any other. The basic element is the role an idea(s) plays in a crisis situation. The innovator finds relief, comfort, and confidence as a result; and his idea diffuses among those who find the novel idea or pattern of ideas helpful.[1] It is the concrete experience of "saving grace" on the part of an innovator (regardless of whether or not he has followers) which nerves him to reject or reform contemporary religious or other beliefs in opposition to the authority of society. As Durkheim correctly argues, a new idea is without social effect until it is accepted by others, that is, the idea is communicated and forms the basis of a community, intellectually, morally, and emotionally. But in stressing the social aspect Durkheim tends to forget the needs and aspirations of the individual which form the conditions for the creation of a new idea and induce its acceptance by others.[1]

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[1] Cf. Kluckhohn, 1942, pp. 45-79. A private phantasy may, if general conditions are favorable, become congenial to the group and function as the society's myth (p. 53), thereby promoting social survival (p. 65).

The close relationship between magic and religion which Durkheim stressed[2] has been emphasized by others, notably Malinowski who, on the basis of extensive field work, concluded that both "arise and function in situations of emotional stress" where empirical knowledge and skills are inadequate.[3] If both magic and religion arise and function in the same situation it need not be surprising if their differentiation occasions difficulty. Malinowski's attempt is by no means wholly successful; close inspection of the relevant passages[1] reveals no meaningful difference in the functions assigned to them. The important distinction lies rather in the character of the ends served by magic and religion,[2] although the difference which he sees is misleading, based upon a methodological error, and drawn from a situation which does not conform to that considered typical of magical and religious acts.[3] The presence of empirical ends in the former and their absence (coupled with a merely expressive *function*) in the latter cannot be accepted because Malinowski arrives at this conclusion by ignoring the clearly stated *nonempirical* ends toward which his cited religious ceremonies are directed. There is no legitimate ground for discriminating between the empirical purpose (a subsequent event) in a fertility rite (a magical act) and the nonempirical purpose (also a subsequent event) in an initiation ceremony (a religious act) except the provincialism and misplaced positivism of the modern observer; purposive action is involved regardless of the nature of the end.[1] What emerges from Malinowski's discussion is that the actor in what he interprets to be a crisis gets in touch with or sets in motion supernatural entities or forces. The difference between magical and religious rituals then lies neither in the originating situation and function which are the same,[2] nor in the interested or disinterested motivation (Durkheim), but in the kind of end: empirical for magic and nonempirical for religion.

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[1] The same factors operate in the creation of heroes. Hero-creating situations "are situations of suspense or unmet need, such as conflict, competition, effort or struggle. When an issue is felt to be important and its outcome is, at the same time, in doubt, a favorable situation [for developing a hero] is created." (Klapp, 1948, p. 136.)
Cf. Durkheim, pp. 213-214.

[2] P. 361.

[3] "Magic, Science, and Religion," in his _Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays_, 1948. Cf. Kluckhohn, 1942, pp. 57-58, 66; Marett, pp. 167, 145; and Webster, 1948, pp. 497, 506.

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[1] Pp. 69-70.

[2] Pp. 68-70.

[3] Pp. 66, 20-22.

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[1] Malinowski in fact says as much himself (pp. 160-161) and is aware of the correct methodological criterion for establishing purposive action: the actor's own definition of his situation is decisive (1935, p. 215). This, incidentally, is ignored by Homans who dismisses the participants' stated empirical and nonempirical ends in magical and religious rites as mere rationalizations in favor of the purely functional utility of these acts as ascertained by the sociologist (1941, pp. 164-172). Inadequate appreciation of this same point vitiates much of Ruth Benedict's criticism of Malinowski's contention as to the source of magical action (1933, p. 42).

[2] The situation varies of course in the degree of tension generated: from the intensely experienced emotion of immediate frustration to the low-grade anxiety arising from vaguely anticipated unpleasant future possibilities. Magical ceremonies are responses to both kinds of strain and it is significant that the highly affective and the prosaically monotonous magical ritual cited by Malinowski (1942, pp. 51-53) correspond to these extremes of tension. Cf. also Kluckhohn (1942, p. 69).

Since cultural definitions enter into the interpretation of the situation the latter may not be defined so rigidly as to exclude all but overt dangers to the actor. There is "danger" wherever emotionally important interests are culturally defined as threatened and where as a consequence anxiety is induced. Hence there is no need of holding that magic is "a regular response to an automatic human need for assurance. This need [certainly] is itself a variable. . . ." (Kroeber, 1948, pp. 308-309, 603-604.) and is undoubtedly dependent on other than technological factors. Among these is the typical childhood rearing pattern which varies in different societies and produces personality types more or less capable of withstanding tensions inherent in uncertainty situations.

The conclusions thus far reached may be summarized as follows: In the pursuit of emotionally significant ends situations arise in which the available empirical knowledge and methods are inadequate. The psychological correlate of this gap between aspiration and actuality is a feeling of anxiety which it is the function of magical and religious ideas and actions to overcome, to replace by a state of courage and confidence. This is possible because the resort to nonempirical agencies, personal or impersonal, is founded upon belief in their existence, power and availability.[1] Furthermore, the evidence shows the automaticity with which ends are achieved in magical and religious rites when they are correctly performed;[2] here also it is not possible to distinguish magical and religious ritual except on the basis of type of end. Thus

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[1] Obviously, if the level of aspiration is such that desires are few and readily obtained then the tension is negligible and easily borne; in such cases there is little need for and resort to the supernatural as a characteristic of religion (and magic). See Durkheim, 1947, pp. 30 ff. and Haring, 1946, p. 252.

[2] Analysis of the sacraments institutionalized in Roman Catholicism corroborates this. Cf., for instance, the discussion of baptism in Connell, 1946, pp. 131-132. The magician, however, is at a disadvantage in comparison with the practitioner of a religious ritual because the latter's end is nonempirical, hence not subject to empirical verification as is the magician's "profane" purpose. This is why magic is potentially and often actually replaceable by science while religion, contra Durkheim (1947, pp. 429-431), is not.

> Ritual [magical and religious] . . . involves orientation to the conception of an order, and the process of action is a technique in the sense that if the proper things are done, the consequences automatically ensue. Prayer, on the other hand, . . . [is] a different mode of orientation to the supernatural. The supernatural is not conceived as operating according to immanent law, but rather as personal will, the designs of which are subject to influence on the analogy of human will.[1]

It would seem then that both types of ritual assume or imply the idea of impersonal orders of sacred forces within the universe which man may control while prayer implies transcendent or immanent "wilful" entities capable of influencing the universe.[2] Prayer posits the existence of a deity who retains his independent decision to act and who may or may not respond to "appeals."[3] The categories of automaticity and nonautomaticity cut across those of types of end.[1]

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[1] Parsons, quoted in Thorner, 1943, pp. 164-165, n. 28. This essential feature of prayer which may be employed for empirical and nonempirical ends remains a basic religious phenomenon, Tillich's value-judgment to the contrary notwithstanding (1946, p. 364); union with the divine is obviously no less a "personal purpose" than any other for which prayer may be employed.

[2] It is incorrect to state that correct ritual exercises compulsion upon a sacred entity which lacks the quality of will. Cf. Langer, 1948, pp. 132-133 and Castiglioni, 1946, p. 27.

[3] Their nature may be affected by the modes of influencing one's fellows institutionalized in each society, supplication, shaming, castigating, exchange of services, etc.

It is important to reiterate that no ontological position is taken when it is stated that ritual and prayer imply or are associated with different conceptions of nonempirical entities and that these ideas arise in response to a certain type of situation. The charge that hypotheses of this type reduce religion to an illusion of the will whereas in reality religion deals "with a special kind of [unseen] environment" which is of absolute worth[2] is quite mistaken. But the insistence upon the objective nature of the religious experience is not at odds with the position of those who stress the subjective nature of this same experience; there is no denial of its concrete existence. The crux of the problem, however, is not the objectivity of the _experience_ but of _that which is thought to be experienced_.[3] Any adequate theory of religion must grapple with the nature of the unseen environment which is considered sacred and demands worship.

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[1] It is probable that both orientations to the nonempirical may be found in different degrees in every society because of insufficient rationalization of the basic conceptions of the sacred, the emotional pressures arising from life's uncertainties and the inevitability of death.

[2] Oman, 1925, pp. 278-279; and Wach, 1944, pp. 13-14, who refers to the objective character of Otto's experience of the Holy.

[3] For Wach (p. 37) and Otto (1925) this something is the Holy and the unknown.

The objective reality posited by the "broken-pattern" hypothesis is the unknowability and uncontrollability experienced by the actor in his reaction to an empirical situation. The reference is always to that which is beyond the actor's empirical knowledge and control in a situation all other aspects of which are at least potentially capable of empirical verification, including the explanations (empirical entities) offered by the actor. But this is not true of the nonempirical referents proffered in the explanations that attempt to account for a very real and highly impressive and supremely valued physiological experience. The conditions and characteristics of the latter are capable, at least theoretically, of scientific analysis, but not so the referents which are assumed by the actor (in good faith) to have caused the incursions upon his consciousness. About the referents verifiable knolwedge is not to be had, only beliefs which can neither be proved nor disproved.

Since emotionally important interests are at stake tensions are such that something must be done to relieve them. The something is the creation of beliefs which enable the actor to "understand" and instruct him how to (ritually) "control" what is empirically beyond his understanding and control.[1] The nonempirical entities are conceived as having knowledge and power relevant to the tension-creating situation and therefore are considered sacred and accorded worship by the believer. The point must be made that the existence of these entities is not a scientific problem. All the elements necessary for an adequate theory of religion are empirically ascertainable: finite human beings, situations unamenable to (scientific or its commonsense equivalent) understanding and control, ideas offering understanding and control, tension reduction, respect, worship, etc. The sociologist traces the functional relevance of conceptions about the holy--which is the correlate of the tension reduction brought about by the well-grounded conviction that the religious ideas and actions solve the worshipper's problems--for the actor's motivations in the broken-pattern situation. The cognitive, affective, conative and moral levels are all involved and play indispensable parts.

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[1] Cf. Dunlap, 1946, p. 321.

The authority of religious ideas, of propositions about the supernatural, rests upon a specific experience which the believer attains when his problems are solved. The solution of his problems is to be equated with his accordance of respect to the referent(s) of the religious ideas.[1] The sacred = solution of anxiety situations; God = the sacred. But this equation is too broad for authority is also accorded to humans by their subordinates. The element of respect, of charisma, then is common to the attitude men take up toward secular and sacred entities that are conceived as having the knowledge and ability to solve men's problems. The distinction between the charisma imputed to sacred and to secular beings rests upon the presence or absence of belief in the nonempirical and, perhaps, whether or not the problems are believed incapable of solution by the collective empirical knowledge and power of the group. The latter qualification might be relevant for distinguishing the respect tendered functionally specific experts from the functionally diffuse charisma of God.

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[1] It may be that the psychological process, or one of them, is transference although of course no particular exposition of the process, or fact, Freud's for example, need be embraced. The organic tensions often drive to action, one of which is frequently ritual.

The objective element in the anxiety stimulus-situation to which God is the solution turns out to be the element of unknowability and uncontrollability, and this element is a persistent though variable derivative of the finiteness of man.[1] It must be admitted that this suggested solution to the controversy about the nature of religion will be unsatisfactory to anyone who takes the position that all theories of religion are illusory[1] which do not positively affirm the existence of some nonempirical force or entity. But it is impossible to make any such affirmation (or denial) on the empirical level in which science operates--regardless of the worth attributed to this level. It may not be legitimately argued from the consequences of certain beliefs about supernaturals that their existence is thereby proved or disproved;[2] consequences in human behavior derive from beliefs (empirical things) about them. It is unnecessary to affirm the whole of Durkheim's theory of religion and yet accept without reservation his position on this point: the foundation of a religious experience need not conform to the idea which believers have of it.[3]

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[1] It may be that the importance attached to the supernatural varies in different societies in some relation to the typical level of anxiety created by the child-rearing and life-career patterns peculiar to any society--or subsection thereof.

Physiological aspects. It is clear that the "foundation" of the religious experience is in some way intimately connected with those affective states of the human organism which Durkheim and Malinowski suggest are the source of magical and religious action. If, therefore, the functioning of the human organism under certain conditions can be shown to produce effects which are similar to if not identical with those constituting the religious experience, then the probability of the correctness of the sociological and anthropological explanations of religious phenomena is greatly enhanced.

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[1] McMurray, 1936, pp. 4-5, 17, 23-24.

[2] Muller, 1943, p. 252.

[3] 1947, pp. 417-418. Cf. Moore, 1937, pp. 14-15.

Perhaps the single most useful study for this purpose is that of Willoughby[1] who draws upon clinical, physiological and psychological data in examining the causes and consequences of anxiety as prerequisite to magic and cognate phenomena. Experimental evidence shows that the conflict between strong excitations for and against motor reaction leads to disorganization of the organism, subjective distress and persistent drive to relief.[2] This disorganization with its concomitant irradiation of motor impulses is apparently to be equated with anxiety. The important point

> . . . is the demonstration of some sort of tension, conflict, or competing excitation, and this appears to be the substrate of what is referred to psychologically as anxiety.[3]

Further:

> As to the symptom of anxious expectation, the following [from Freud] is particularly pertinent in connection with the problem of magic: 'There is here a quantity of anxiety in a free-floating

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[1] 1935, pp. 461-519.

[2] P. 466. The similarity between the behavior of "neurotic" dogs and that of anxiety patients is striking.

[3] P. 468.

> condition, which in any state of expectation controls the selection of ideas, and is ever ready to attach itself to any suitable ideational content.[1]

The facile acceptance of ideas which promise relief is more readily understood if some conception is had of the stress under which the victim of an anxiety attack may labor.

> The whole picture on the psychic side, in short, is one of an experience of an imminent and tremendously hostile and powerful mysterious [because it is not understood in terms of some accepted set of propositions] force, before which the patient is completely disorganized and seeks only to escape or find help; in extreme cases he is unable even to do that.[2]

The chronic anxiety state is less catastrophic and can be endured for extended periods, that is, until additional stress is encountered. Among the external symptoms in this condition there are

> . . . hyperkinesis and hyperloquacity, often of a strained sort, hypochondriac trends, oversolicitousness, distrust (including self-distrust), overreaction to danger situations, lapses and obscure self-punishments, and, in general, *a state of anxious expectation which in all but the most sophisticated constantly seeks to find or create external situations adequate to justify it*.[3]

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[1] P. 470.

[2] P. 463. It is instructive to compare Willoughby's account of an anxiety attack with Rudolf Otto's description of the *mysterium tremendum* aspect of the numen. Cf. also Halbwach's discussion of the mentally ill in *Les causes du suicide*, pp. 422-425.

[3] P. 463; italics added.

Since most individuals are far from sophisticated and unaware of the etiology of anxiety it is often the case that the victim of an attack "has projected and rationalized it to his satisfaction."[1] This fact is of crucial significance for it shows that the individual creates a private system of beliefs _about the reality he feels_. This system helps relieve the tension; it "works" and thereby re-enforces with indubitable experience the _post hoc ergo propter hoc_ reasoning necessarily involved when a nonempirical element is inserted into the sequence of empirical events as an explanation thereof. It is significant for the relation between relief from anxiety and institutionalized belief and ritual that

> The recession of anxiety, either acute or chronic, appears to coincide with the reestablishment of a connection between the imaginal and at least the implicit sectors of the motor system. Their [anxiety phenomena] irruption usually coincides either with a sudden increase of tension due to conflicting impulses or with a decrease of capacity (usually organic and environmental) to tolerate such tension; and their recession with resolution of this tension and consequent reestablishment of a connection between the imaginal and motor system.[2]

Cultural patterns enter not alone into the imaginal system but into the conflicting tendencies or impulses, the social environment and the motor system by way of internalization in the learning process; the result is the development of knowledge, attitudes, wishes, purposes, goals and affectively toned normative patterns for attaining ends.[1] Changes in any of these can affect the tension level of the motor system, raising or lowering it. The individual with his physical and socially acquired capacities and wants is confronted with situations which are interpreted more or less unconsciously as within or beyond control. A change in affectively toned cognitive patterns thus can increase or decrease anxiety no less than can changes in the overt conditions of action. By the same token different cultural patterns define the world differently for various societies with the result that definitions of what constitutes danger, when it is felt, and how it is to be overcome vary. Salvation, to use the theological term, is always the rescue of the individual from what his society defines as "dangerous" in "the world."[2]

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[1] _Loc_. _cit_.

[2] P. 464.

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[1] Since the learning process and its products are of major significance in childhood it will be necessary to analyze in some detail this stage of the life cycle below.

[2] Cf. Sapir, 1949, p. 347.
"The ultimate problems of an Ojibwa Indian are different as to content from those of the educated devotee of modern science, but with each of them religion means the haunting realization of ultimate powerlessness in an inscrutable world, and the unquestioning and thoroughly irrational conviction of the possibility of gaining mystic security by somehow identifying with what can never be known. Religion is omnipresent fear and a vast humility paradoxically turned into bedrock security."

In terms of physiological fact as well as sociological theory the humility derives from the feeling of helplessness in the broken-pattern or crisis situation while the security stems from the solution which the actor has projected for himself.

The disorganization of the normally smooth creation and discharge of motor impulses with its concomitant distressing effects

> . . . has been called variously "affect," "tension," "anxiety," and "neurosis." In three instances it has been shown that the drive toward relief tends to set into operation implicit and explicit forms of behavior, the principal characteristic of which is their abbreviated or condensed or symbolic character and their relative indifference and impermeability (because of the necessity of attaining relief as quickly as possible) to the ordinary checks, delays, and inhibitions imposed by objective reality; thus they are *objectively* non-adaptive, but are *subjectively* adaptive to the extent that the relief aimed at is actually effected.[1]

Among these "forms of behavior" Willoughby includes the religious rite as a form of therapy

> . . . which operates by reestablishing an unobstructed pathway from impulse to overt action discharging it. That due to the exigencies of the external situation important sections of this pathway must remain on the symbolic level need not greatly interfere with the therapeutic effect, since the external purposes served are therapeutically irrelevant; . . .[2]

II. DEFINITIONS

This characterization of religious ritual is inadequate in that it fails to differentiate magic and religion. There seems to be no reason for confining the idea conveyed in the first quoted sentence to religious ritual; it applies equally to magic. The second sentence is obscure but it may be construed as referring to the fact that the symbolic reference of the means and ends of religious rites are on the non-empirical level but that this does not interfere with the latent function upon which therapeutic effects depend. It does not seem possible to ascribe symbolism in this sense to religious ritual and deny it to magic. To do so would imply an intrinsic relationship between magical means and ends. Unfortunately Willoughby nowhere attempts to define what is meant by magic, religion or cognate phenomena. No attention is paid to types of ends although a distinction is conceded or implied in the use of the term "reality-check." But this is understandable and allowable enough on the part of an investigator who concerns himself with the organic processes. It is from this viewpoint, not the sociological, that Willoughby is probably correct in seeing no essential difference between magic and religion.[1]

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[1] P. 471; italics added. The three instances referred to are Pavlov's experiments with dogs, Ovsiankina's interrupted-action and Luria's disorganization experiments.

Cf. Kluckhohn, 1942, for his use of adjustive (for the individual) and adaptive (for society) when describing the function of myth and ritual.

[2] P. 491.

This is a conclusion which has already been anticipated in the discussion of Durkheim's and Malinowski's views; it was concluded that while religion and magic are alike in latent function they are distinguishable on the basis of overt ends and the locus of decision implementing their attainment. It is these differences which constitute the bases for four of the concepts which follow. They define types of action open to individuals laboring under a state of tension (anxiety) arising from the more or less explicit feeling or belief that emotionally important interests are endangered by circumstances beyond either understanding or adequate control in terms of available empirical knowledge and methods. The actions are nonlogical from the viewpoint of the scientific observer, but not the actor, in that either the means chosen for bridging the anxiety-laden gap between actuality and aspiration are not intrinsically capable of attaining the specified end or the latter is not subject to empirical observation. Furthermore, all these action patterns tend to dissipate or reduce their generating state of tension and thus enhance the actor's courage, confidence, optimism, morale.

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[1] P. 462.

(1) *Magical ritual is the conscious use of a process of action which sets in motion nonempirical forces for the automatic achievement of the actor's empirical ends*. This definition excludes *violations of taboos, acts which set in motion nonempirical forces that automatically result in unintended empirical consequences*; for example, the death of Uzzah. The concept leaves open the manner in which the sacred

forces are activated, whether covertly as in thinking about or concentrating upon the end and means or overtly in speech or other action, whether privately or publicly, by men or women, by fixed or variant ceremony, etc. The statement also leaves indeterminate the type of ends, that is, whether they are socially approved or disapproved, individual or collective. All these are subsidiary traits which may be added or deleted according to the problem in hand.[1]

(2) Religious ritual is the conscious use of a process of action which sets in motion nonempirical forces for the automatic achievement of the actor's nonempirical ends.

(3) Prayer is the conscious use of a process of action which sets in motion nonempirical forces that may or may not accede to the actor's empirical or nonempirical ends. In this formulation "sets in motion" is deliberately employed so that modes of appeal other than supplication are included, for example, scolding, shaming, punishing, etc., while the last clause is designed to allow the locus of decision to remain with the nonempirical and not the actor. It is this latter factor, the locus of decision, which is crucial in differentiating prayer from ritual because the kind of end does not. It is only within the category of ritual that the

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[1] Cf. Webster's view, p. 55.

ends distinguish the subclasses, magical and religious.[1]

(4) Mysticism is a process of action whereby the actor

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[1] There is an element of particularism in prayer to the extent that there is implied the granting of advantages not merited by the petitioner. There are apparently two possibilities open to the suppliant: either he addresses his plea directly to the locus of decision, or indirectly through the good offices of a third party. Which alternative seems natural depends in good part upon the complex of ideas about the nonempirical in which the individual has been reared. The interest which this point has for the present study rests upon the fact that the Protestant conception of divinity favors the direct approach while the Catholic tends to resort to an intermediary sacred entity. Since the main burden of this study is the significance of Protestant concepts for the psychology and social structure of Protestant societies nothing need be mentioned here about this relationship. But evidence for the influence of the Roman Catholic conception of the intermediary in prayer may be cited now as an instance of the relationship between religious ideas and the way in which social action is structured.

The contrast is vividly portrayed in Whyte's study (1943) of an Italian area in Boston. Instead of praying directly to God for favors as Protestants do his informant asks, "Why should he grant us the favors we ask? Instead we pray to some saint . . . to intercede for us and be our advocate before God." Annual celebrations to the saint are held in order to cultivate his good will so that "If the sinner prays to the saint, the saint stands in right with God, and God takes pity upon the sinner and forgives him his sins. That is the spiritual world. It is the same way in the material world except that here we are dealing with material things." The analogy in the material world is the procedure for fixing a traffic ticket although it is maintained that money cannot buy God's favors and money donated to the saint's festival is not equivalent to a bribe. A distinction is made between monetary and affective inducements to obtain advantages barred by the universalistic and impersonal norms of office in the predominantly Protestant larger society. Success in the latter requires acceptance of these norms, hence the rejection of Cornerville's particularistic norms and values means alienation from it. See Whyte, 1943, pp. 270-274 and 1944, p. 68 for the parallel between attitudes to the sacred and secular hierarchies.

attempts to unite with the nonempirical.[1]

(5) *The sacred or holy refers to the nonempirical entity or entities, personal or impersonal, in terms of which the relations of the actor to his fellows, to nature and to the supernatural are conceived and normatively ordered.* In this technical sense sacred is ethically neutral; diabolic and godly entities are both holy. Furthermore, relationships are normatively ordered regardless of the ethical preferences of the observer.

(6) *A god is a nonempirical entity in terms of which the relation of the actor to his fellows, to nature and to the supernatural are conceived and normatively ordered.*

Inspection of the five elements whose combinations define the first three concepts reveals that the logically if not concretely possible number of combinations and their negations is by no means confined to these three.[2]

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[1] This concept is utilized in the final chapter.

[2] If "a" represents consciousness, "b" empirical means, "c" automaticity, "d" empirical end, and "e" end known to the actor, with the negation of these elements written with a superimposed dash, then thirty-one combinations are possible according to the formula:

$$\Sigma\, 5^{C} r = 5^{C} 1 + 5^{C} 2 \ldots + 5^{C} 5 = 2^{5} - 1 = 32 - 1 = 31.$$

Magic would be represented by the symbol $a\bar{b}cde$; religious ritual $a\bar{b}c\bar{d}e$; prayer $a\bar{b}\bar{c}de$ or $a\bar{b}\bar{c}\bar{d}e$ according to whether the end is empirical or nonempirical. For the nonlogical actions with which we are concerned $\bar{e}$ would have to be understood as representing the *latent function* since an end implies the actor's awareness of it. (I am indebted to Mr. Albert Mindlin for the formula.)

(7) "*Paramagic*" *is the conscious use of a process of action which sets in motion empirical forces for the automatic achievement of the actor's empirical ends*. This is indistinguishable from a logical action in which the means is intrinsically related to the desired end as defined both by the actor and the scientific observer with a more adequate knowledge of the means-end relationships involved. But in non-logical actions of the types defined above and those discussed by Willoughby there is one common denominator: reduction of anxiety to a degree *unwarranted* by the means employed to bring about the manifest purpose. In other words, there is no objective basis, other than that which the psychiatrist "understands," for the confidence with which the actor uses the means to his ends. A purely logical action (in the objective *and* subjective senses of the term) would be one which the actor employs with the degree of confidence commensurate to the *intrinsic* relation between ends and means. Any increment of confidence (optimism, morale, anxiety-reduction) accruing to any action over and above what is intrinsically adequate may be styled the paramagical (from parallel and magic) function of that action; that is, a paramagical action is one for which the actor does not claim supernatural efficacy. *The function of paramagic like that of magic, religious ritual and prayer is always to be understood as a latent function, a consequence of action undertaken for other ends*.

It has been shown that the stability of personality functioning is dependent upon an intricate interrelation of physiological, psychological, social, and cultural elements among which last there is included a belief, however vague, in the possibilities of a reasonable approximation of achievement to aspiration--whatever the content of the latter as defined in various societies or subsections thereof.[1] Since this hiatus between actuality and desire exists and must be bridged somehow in every society, and since it constitutes a matrix out of which nonlogical action arises, it follows that one or more substitutes for magic may be inferred if a society repudiates the idea of magic. It may be stated as a proposition without need of specific verification that in the United States and in the West more or less generally rationalism and the associated faith in science have undermined belief in the supernatural in many areas of thought and action. Hence it would seem legitimate to expect a paramagical element in the usages and employment of objects having to do with health and, in a quite general sense, social success; these are areas in which the emotions are strongly involved while knowledge and effective empirical controls are relatively inadequate. For present purposes it is sufficient to state that there is evidence which indicates that a paramagical function is often involved in the use of medication, cosmetics, jewelry and clothing.[1] The relevance of this proposition will appear in subsequent chapters.

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[1] Cf. Durkheim, 1930.

For a variety of reasons the single most important crisis situation for present purposes is the period of childhood in which inadequacy of knowledge and incapacity for environmental control are inherently bound up with dependency upon adults for the satisfaction of physiological, affective and other needs. There is in short a substantial parallel between the child's situation and modes of relationship to adults and the type of situation which normally leads to the invocation of, dependency upon and appeal to nonempirical entities. Childhood is also the crucial stage in the life cycle for the molding of personality, a process which is intimately related to the acquisition of knowledge of the socially required conditions for and training in postponement of impulse gratification. The latter in turn is, apart from genetically determined predispositions, probably one of the most important factors involved in establishing the normal level of tension and developing the capacity to withstand it. The combination of these last two factors is of major significance for the likelihood of the appearance of nonlogical conceptions and actions such as have been examined above. It follows from these considerations that differences in patterns of rearing institutionalized in a given society or subgroup might be correlated with typical preferences among the possible ways of influencing nonempirical entities as well as with the normatively prescribed methods of social interaction. Further, some conception of the nature of the nonempirical is implied by the methods utilized for approaching it. If, however, men's ideas of the nonempirical are related to those which govern human relationships[1] and the normatively prescribed patterns of interaction are inculcated mainly in childhood, then the possibility arises that norms which govern the conditions for the gratification, postponement and renunciation of needs also imply underlying standards or criteria. These in turn might be conceived as logically or psychologically congruent with the conceptions of the nonempirical characteristic of a given society. Thus psychological, cultural, and social structural patterns are interrelated and fused in the most plastic stage of the life cycle. For these reasons an analysis of certain characteristics of rearing patterns is indicated here.

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[1] For example, the popularization of the wrist watch for men and the male wedding ring, the differences in male and female clothing, and the type of clothing which certain discriminated against minority groups apparently favor seem to be capable of explanation in terms of the concept of paramagic. Unfortunately, tangential relevance of these phenomena to the focus of the present study precludes the inclusion here of data supporting this view.

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[1] See Parsons, 1937. This conception is incorporated in the definition of the sacred set forth above.

III. TYPES OF MORALITY

At least two major emphases are distinguishable in human relations. They correspond to the methods whereby a person attempts to gain an end either through the imposition of his will without consideration for that of other parties or through an exchange of services, of reciprocal satisfactions. The coercive phase or power aspect of behavior refers to the tendency of an actor to assume or imply the absence, denial, disregard, or crushing of purposes independent of his own. The exchange element designates the explicit or implicit acknowledgement on the part of an actor that he is dealing with someone whose consent he desires to obtain by an exchange of services.[1] The second of these two emphases may be loosely termed the economic element in action if the ordinary "goods and services" of the economist are extended to include the satisfactions afforded by emotional, particularly affectional, response.

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[1] The exchange may be governed by universalistic or particularistic criteria.

From infancy onward experience affirms that expectations regarding the satisfaction of wants may be achieved in these ways. Although social relations involve elements of both it does not follow that they are always present in the same proportions. Because the main outlines and developmental trends of a personality are ordinarily well established during the early years of life when the family circle encloses the greater part of a child's experience, differences in patterns of family relationships become important. In every society the cultural patterns governing domestic as well as other relations establish the scope, degree, and manner in which power is legitimately exercised. Power must be used if for no other reason than that norms of proper behavior and ideals of personality are not automatically inculcated; they must be imposed--at times with force if other means are ineffective. There are differences, however, not only in the concrete approximations to or deviations from an accepted ideal pattern by individual families but in the patterns themselves which differ subculturally according to class, ethnic, geographic, and religious influences. If this be the case within a society it is evident that the coercive and exchange components of human relationships as institutionalized in the family vary in broad emphasis as between societies.

Although considerable overlapping does undoubtedly occur it is both legitimate and useful to sketch out a pair of coherent patterns emphasizing the logical, psychological, ethical and other characteristics that might be expected to result from childhood experiences which focus mainly upon one or the other of these two elements. It will be even more useful and legitimate if this elaboration of ideal types on the basis of general knowledge and observation is bolstered by carefully designed experimental data. Examination of Piaget's work with children is indicated by the appositeness of his findings for the problems germane to this monograph.[1]

Piaget distinguishes two types of morality. One is referred to as moral heteronomy, realism or the morality of obedience and objective responsibility, the other as moral autonomy, the morality of intention, subjective responsibility and reciprocity. During the first years of life it is impossible to avoid constraining a child or making incomprehensible demands, while the mere fact of accepting the latter almost always leads to moral realism, a trait varying with the nature of the home and the characteristics of the parents and child.[2] By moral realism Piaget denotes the child's tendency to regard duty as self-imposing regardless of variant circumstances.[3] Analysis of this tendency shows that: (1) A rule is conceived of as revealed and imposed by adults and obedience to it, regardless of content, is good; indeed, the good is defined by obedience. (2) The letter rather than the spirit of the law is obeyed, and (3) There is an objective conception of responsibility in that rules are taken literally, and acts evaluated not according to motive but in terms of exact conformity to established rules.[1] Moral realism seems to derive from constraint and unilateral respect; the heteronomy associated with constraint produces objective responsibility. On the other hand the autonomy coupled with mutual respect and co-operation leads to subjective responsibility.[2] In so far as parents lose their tempers in proportion to the amount of damage a child inflicts, children will take the position of objective responsibility or moral realism. This type of responsibility decreases in importance, however, if the parents exercise restraint and take the child's motives into account.[3]

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[1] All references will be to Piaget, 1932.

[2] Pp. 174, 179-180.

[3] P. 106.

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The child can develop subjective responsibility when on the basis of co-operation and mutual respect he becomes accustomed to act from the point of view of his associates, making an effort to please rather than obey, and judging action in terms of the intention behind it.[1] This morality of reciprocity, intention, and subjective responsibility develops at a certain stage and age period during which rules become obligatory independently of the sanctioning power; the laws of conduct and thought become disengaged from their concrete context and become universal and absolute.[2] But this development which is based upon co-operation with and mutual respect for other children is possible only on one condition: *the need for reciprocal affection as essential to the moral life*.[3]

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[1] Pp. 106-107.

[2] Pp. 131, 337.

[3] Pp. 126-127.

But despite the need for reciprocated affection and its presence in whatever degree that may be necessary on the part of children and adults, the development of subjective responsibility cannot occur if another quality is absent. Piaget points to this when he associates the child's moral realism with the parents' *loss of temper* when the child damages something. Parental emotional control then is intimately connected with the development of moral autonomy. It does not, however, seem adequate to attribute, as Piaget does, the primary responsibility for this process to co-operation with and mutual respect of playmates. It is rather among adults, primarily parents, that the qualities of emotional control, sensitivity to and consideration for each other, or the reverse, are seen in operation and imitated. It is the adult who ordinarily admonishes children in play, reminds them to be considerate of the weaker, to treat others as they would be treated, to let other children have their turn, that the rules of the game apply to everyone.[1] Hence emotional control is an indispensable prerequisite if rules are to become obligatory without the imposition of punishment by those who issue them.

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[1] Pp. 133-135.

[2] P. 166.

[3] Pp. 170-173. This is one of Piaget's basic insights.

For Piaget then there are

> . . . two types of respect, and consequently two moralities--a morality of constraint or of heteronomy, and a morality of co-operation or of autonomy.
>
> [Moral] autonomy . . . appears only with reciprocity, when mutual respect is strong enough to make the individual feel from within the desire to treat others as he himself would wish to be treated.[2]

The genesis and sanction of each type are clearly differentiated. Moral heteronomy has its origin and continuity in the coercive relation between the weak and the strong, with the responsibility in the hands of the "power-wielder"; the underlying sanction seems to be primarily fear of punishment mediated through some external power agent. Moral autonomy arises from and is maintained by the need for affectional response, with responsibility assumed by the actor; the underlying sanction is chiefly anxiety over the loss of affectional response. Piaget's nomenclature for these morality types is wholly consonant with the differences in origin and sanction.[1]

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[1] Piaget does not, of course, ignore the adult's influence upon the child.

[2] Pp. 195, 94. Since the Golden Rule is about two thousand years old in its positive form and even older in the negative version, and since it is differentially institutionalized in certain societies, it follows that other than cultural factors are involved in explanation of this difference. The most conspicuous instance in the modern West is the institutionalization of "fair play" in English-speaking societies and its incongruity with German conceptions of human relationships. See Thorner, 1945.

Since Piaget's terminology is somewhat confusing and his position with reference to shame, guilt, and conscience ambiguous, and because these phenomena are crucial for the differentiation of heteronomous and autonomous morality, further analysis of his work is in order.

At one point he refers to rules before they have been disengaged from their concrete context and the power whence they emanate, before they have become universal, abstract and absolute. These rules are characteristic of heteronomous morality and are external to the child's conscience.[1] Elsewhere, however, he writes of the ideal norms back of all rules, norms which are created within the mind by co-operative relations, in contrast to the system of rules which are imposed from without by relations of constraint.[2] It may be suggested that the difference is, in part, one of generality of referents. It seems congruent with Piaget's entire discussion to confine ideal norms or principles to the most general or universalistic rules that may be disengaged from the nexus of rules associated with concrete situations and persons. These ideals are recognized and internalized chiefly on the basis of parental affection. Their universalistic and disinterested character when considered in connection with parental emotional control that Piaget desiderates[3] implies that consistent affection cannot be had on an ad hoc basis. The basis of consistency of affectional response in turn implies conformance to a set of universalistic principles. In other words the child's assurance of dependable response involves a consistently good parental image, preferably of both parents, otherwise there is little emotional basis for unexceptionable principles applicable to varying situations and requiring different specific rules. The internalization then is, as Piaget holds, of ideal norms in moral autonomy and not of the rules, regardless of context and content, as in heteronomous morality. Thus guilt comes to be more closely associated with violation of universalistic norms. On the other hand the shame reaction is a response to a feeling of insecurity which occurs when one's position in a context of specific individuals is threatened by violation of the rules (and values) upheld by them. In this case the preservation of status in a particular group is fundamental to the individual's sense of security, apparently much more so than for the individual who has internalized universalistic norms on the basis of a consistent pattern as the ground for earning parental affection.[1]

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[1] It is clear that in both types the undisciplined impulsive desires of the individual are under "constraint" despite the fact that the moral rules are imposed by an overriding will in the one and voluntarily accepted in the other as a means to earn and retain affectional response. It is therefore understandable that the Kantian ethic's highest virtue is duty for duty's sake since this ethic has sprung from a culture in which the coercive element has been institutionalized in the family and social structure (Thorner, 1945). On the other hand conformance to moral obligation on the part of the autonomously moral person has as an integral concomitant the feeling of happiness, of goodness, of joy because he has earned the right of affectional response. In both, self-respect is to be had only on the basis of fulfillment of moral obligations although the sources and sanctions of morality differ.

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[1] P. 166.

[2] P. 402.

[3] Pp. 126-127.

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[1] For evidence pertaining to this source of the shame reaction among the Alorese see Kardiner, 1945, pp. 127, 159, 22-221, 228-229, 251, and DuBois, 1944, pp. 79, 173, and among the Navaho, Kluckhohn, 1943, p. 225. The guilt reaction is hardly noticeable in either society. It is significant for the possible relationship of conscience with the concept of an omniscient and omnipotent moral god that the Navaho believe in a mosaic of localized, unrelated and unreliable personal-power entities whom man coerces and propitiates (See Thompson, 1948, p. 211).

The Piaget, Kardiner, DuBois, Kluckhohn, and Mead (1940) data seem to warrant the conclusion that the introjection of normative patterns and the possession of moral values are to be found in all societies but that there are important distinctions both as to the depth of internalization, source, and quality of sanctions and universality of norm applicability.
(Continued on following page.)

The evidence already cited to the effect that certain societies are almost if not wholly characterized by heteronomous morality is at odds with Piaget's study which implies that there is a normally progressive development from heteronomous to autonomous morality during childhood and that the transition is a universal phenomenon.[1] On the other hand, Piaget states that moral realism depends on the nature of the home as well as the characters of the parents and child,[2] that the correlation of moral realism with a particular type of punishment is favored by certain types of family life and social relationships, and that it survives at all ages among many adults.[1] Furthermore, according to Piaget there are as a result of certain kinds of upbringing differences in personality types with predispositions toward various types of punishment.[2] If this be the case a problem is raised concerning Piaget's basic thesis: moral autonomy develops in large part from the co-operative relations which, he seems to imply, arise more or less spontaneously among children at play. The inference which is nowhere stated is that the nature of children's play is everywhere the same. But why may not societies which differ in certain respects affecting personality and moral typology differ also in regard to the kind of games and the spirit in which they are conducted? Why may not games be more authoritarian in one society and egalitarian in another?[3]

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[1] (Continued from previous page.) (Cf. also Frenkel-Brunswik and Sanford, 1945, and Mackinnon, 1938, pp. 491-501.) While norm violation per se tends to produce a feeling of insecurity it would seem to be relatively greater and less endurable for members of heteronomously moral societies. The individual whose personality is shaped by affectional response and deeply-rooted universalist principles has a greater capacity for moral independence and is potentially at least more capable of withstanding group status pressures.

These considerations are peculiarly relevant to certain contemporary developments. Since moral autonomy and conscience depend on child-parent solidarity successful governmental intervention in and weakening of parental relationships would tend to destroy moral autonomy. By the same token success would tend to encourage covert intrigue and disobedience, that is, there would be less of deeply internalized desire to conform and a greater degree of anxiety about being found out and punished for misdeeds. The encouragement of spying upon family life to ensure ideological conformity, as well as the general resort to spies by the modern totalitarian state, favors or is connected with the development of a heteronomous ethic based on compulsion rather than a universalist ethic internalized as conscience. The flouting of the latter may be useful in attaining power but does not promise to be equally effective in creating or operating a complex, changing industrial society.

[1] This does not hold for the Dakota Sioux, Northern Ojibwa, Navaho, Papago, and Hopi Indians. See Thompson, 1948.

[2] Pp. 179-180.

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[1] P. 199.

[2] Pp. 208-209.

[3] There are hints that Piaget is not unaware of these possibilities (pp. 2-3, 37). (It may be of some interest for the depth and subtility of religious influence to suggest on the basis of internal and other evidence that in all probability Piaget and most of his child subjects have an ascetic Protestant background. His findings therefore may be less relevant for societies where other religious faiths are institutionalized.) For Henry Adams' observations on characteristic differences in American and German rules of the game embodying egalitarian and authoritarian conceptions respectively see Carter, 1947.

The importance attached by Piaget to the freely developing rules of play as the main factor beneath the subjective responsibility characteristic of moral autonomy in contrast to the more or less coercive imposition by the adult of rules external to the child leads to another question: What are the function and circumstances of the rules which induce the child to submit to their authority, or, more accurately, to endow them with authority? This formulation of the problem immediately suggests the preceding analysis of the situation conducive to the appearance of magical and religious ritual and the explanation of the authority associated with nonempirical entities. Examination of Piaget's remarks on the first step in the development of the feeling that there are definite duties which the child has, that is, obligations of conscience, will demonstrate the relevance here of the previous analysis and solution.

In the development of conscience Piaget stresses the deeply emotional situation during which the child learns for the first time when he is reprimanded by respected adults that he must tell the truth. The child has been detected in a lie and discovers to his dismay that those whom he loves and respects are greatly upset by something which he did not know would have such reactions. He discovers that lying incurs penalties. He may not be subjected to deliberate punishment but he is in effect punished by the feeling that he has forfeited the good opinion and love of those who are closest to him, his parents, teachers, or others in a similar position.[1] These adults who can and do satisfy his cognitive, affective and organic needs have expressly or implicitly laid down commands about honesty, truthfulness, and other norms which the child does not clearly understand. They are beyond his comprehension and do not, at the early age in question, directly arise from and relate to his immediate activities. They put an incomprehensible barrier in the way of the satisfaction of his desires in what seems to be the most obvious manner of achieving them. But the child submits to the authority of the adult; he promises to respect the rules apparently because of the respect he has for the "omniscient" and "omnipotent" adults who, moreover, are in a position to coerce him. It is clear that truthfulness, for example, is not respected for itself because the criterion of being "naughty" is not the child's knowledge that he has lied but that he has been found out by others.[2] The essential element, therefore, in moral realism is the combination of an incomprehensible command by an adult and submission to it by the child.

This formulation focuses upon the important differences between the conditions of imperatively and voluntarily accepted moral codes--the conditions of the rules, not their content, which may be identical. Children develop the autonomous type of moral rules when they are co-operating as equals who believe they understand what they are about and believe themselves capable of dealing with the problems raised by the activities in which they are engaged. In other words, each participant derives sufficient satisfaction from his share of the interacting activities to compensate for whatever dissatisfaction may be contingent upon the activities of his fellows. It is because of the surplus of "psychic income" over outgo that each child is enabled to temporarily and willingly forgo the gratification of his own impulses, that is, discipline himself, while his equals are enjoying theirs.[1] It is in this kind of interaction that reciprocal affection develops; and it is in the desire to retain this affection, esteem and surplus that

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[1] P. 162.

[2] P. 176.

> . . . the child is accustomed to act from the point of view of those around him, when he tries to please rather than obey, that he will judge in terms of intentions. . . . So that taking intentions into account presupposes co-operation and mutual respect.[2]

The "co-operation and mutual respect" are evidenced by the freely agreed upon content and sequence of the forgoing of individual satisfactions. And this constitutes the pattern of rules, conformance to which the participants come to regard as obligatory and which Piaget considers the substance of a set of complementary and coherent moral ideas characteristic of rational (autonomous) morality.[1] But the normative pattern must be not only complementary and coherent if the activities of a plurality of equals are to be dovetailed to the mutual satisfaction of each but each must to some extent comprehend the good and sufficient reasons for the regulatory pattern. In this way the argument comes full turn to the conditions underlying imperatively accepted heteronomous moral rules. The latter are accepted and heteronomous because the satisfactions relate to the adult-child and not to the child-child relationship. Since the child does not understand the reasons for the imposed norms or their relevance to his and his playmates' activities, he can only blindly obey the power-wielding authority. The result is what Piaget terms coercive, objective or heteronomous morality. This type of morality and its conditions, however, are usually present to some degree even in those childhood activities that are largely co-operative.

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[1] Cf. Barnard, 1940, Ch. 4.

[2] Piaget, p. 133.

But in both types the child understands more or less clearly or, perhaps, feels that conformance to a norm is the condition for the retention of the much desired good opinion, aid, and affection of some other party or parties. The obligatory nature of the norm stems from this understanding. It is neither a question of no individual possessing authority or prestige in himself (Durkheim) nor of the transfer of respect from the person to the command he issues (Piaget). Rather is it a matter of respect for the norm in both cases because the norm, that is, obedience to it, is conceived to be the key to needed satisfactions. It is in the combination of two conditions that the source of the feeling of respect is found. First, the belief, however vague, that the attainment of desired or needed satisfactions is not within the reach of the actor's unaided abilities and knowledge. Second, the belief that someone else has the knowledge or ability by means of which the actor can reach the desired ends. In these circumstances it is easily understood why both participants and observers confuse the person and what he represents, why respect may attach indifferently to either or both the person who is believed capable of affording satisfaction, the pattern of ideas, and the vehicles implementing or associated with the attainment of the ends involved.

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[1] P. 324.

The implication for the individual of this combination of circumstances is clear. He is confronted in varying degrees by a crisis, a break in the pattern of wonted activities and ideas which hitherto had proven effective in attaining ends. It is this broken-pattern situation with its release of free-floating affect which affords the optimum condition for the acceptance of new patterns of thought and action.[1] If, however, the traditionally accepted idea- and action-patterns are effective in reducing anxiety and solving the actor's problems, then respect for tradition and the "Elders" who embody it is not childish, Piaget to the contrary notwithstanding.[2] On the other hand, if the adult is confronted by an impasse in which the heretofore effective patterns fail him then he and the child are in essentially similar positions. Both turn to anyone who is deemed capable of presenting a solution. It is not considered childish for the sick man to submit to the authority of the physician, nor is the relationship really between equals. The patient voluntarily enters into it but is at the same time coerced by his ailment. In a very real sense the patient is breaking from tradition, his accustomed mode of doing things, when he turns to the physician. Precisely because of the broken-pattern situation is it possible for the charismatic leader, whether therapeutic, religious, political, military or other, to break away from tradition.

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[1] Analysis of the patient-nurse relationship offers ample evidence for this proposition. See Thorner, unpublished.

[2] P. 340.

One may speak indifferently of the prophet's authority or the physician's charisma. Both claim authority as a right and obedience as a duty; but authority or charisma must be validated for the subject as a continuous ground for exacting obedience as the condition for bringing about the desired aid or "salvation."[1] Nor is this all. The bearer of charisma or authority feels entitled to claim obedience as a duty because he himself has experienced or witnessed the problem-solving results of the idea- and action-patterns which he offers his followers as the solution of their heretofore unsolved problems.[2] A test of this proposition will be involved in the examination of Mrs. Eddy and her religious beliefs.

The analysis of the broken-pattern situation has shown the relevance of the latter for the creation, nature, and function of various kinds of nonlogical beliefs, entities, and actions, including magical and religious ritual, as well as the essentially similar nature and functioning of the socialization process occurring in childhood. The same analysis has not only provided an integrated set of concepts for the differentiation of several religious phenomena but has validated the necessity of tracing the interrelations of the patterns of nonlogical propositions, personality type and social structure characteristic of a given society. This complex type of functional analysis must be undertaken not alone for the understanding of relatively stable preliterate communities but for the comprehension of the underlying tensions and strains which provide the motivation and dynamics of modern social movements. It is because childhood is the most crucial stage in the process of internalizing the cognitive, affective, and conative patterns that it has been selected as the starting point for the next chapter.[1]

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[1] Cf. Weber, 1947, pp. 358 ff., Barnard, 1940, Ch. 12, and Benne, 1943, p. 2. The latter's three types of authority, that of the expert, the rules of the game, and the pedagogue, are subclasses of one phenomenon: authority based on an idea or pattern of ideas which the subject of authority believes will help solve problems for him, give psychological release. It does not, however, follow that this necessarily results in a lowering of tension because of the release afforded. The cessation of conflict among opposing tensions can raise the energy level available for direction into channels provided by the solution while the problem-solving patterns may in turn lead to new conflicts, problems, and solutions.

[2] This is not to deny the fact that solutions often remain private, fail of public acceptance. Cf. De Gré, 1943, p. 80, and the reference to Blondel's sociological theory of insanity.

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[1] No a priori assumptions are made as to "primary" or "secondary" factors. Although Kardiner's "basic personality" concept is utilized the whole tenor of the present study is at odds with his relegation of religion to a secondary institution subsidiary to the vicissitudes of childhood rearing (Kardiner, 1939).

CHAPTER TWO

ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM AND AFFECTIONAL INHIBITION

The family whose behavior patterns are described in the first section is "representative" in the sense that its members exhibit in vivid detail traits frequently present in middle-class society. Each of the elements and the multitude of their combinations and permutations are matters of almost everyday knowledge. Because of the pervasiveness of these patterns an inquiry into their origins could be illuminating if the explanatory hypothesis applied not only to a single family but to the functioning of the contemporary social structure and its genesis. Hence the Jones family will serve as a "pilot model" where the presence and effects of affectional inhibition are studied in miniature in order to render more understandable the personality and social structural results of a religious movement which induced inhibition of response in the pattern of family relations.

I. A MIDDLE-CLASS URBAN FAMILY

The family is composed of Mrs. Jones and, in order of age, John, Jane, James, and Joan. Mr. Jones, who had died some years ago, was pictured as an exceedingly hard working and uncommunicative person who "didn't go out much," preferring to stay at home after working hours. Mrs. Jones, the dominant personality, was compelled to follow suit when she realized that his habits could not be changed peaceably. This circumstance and the thwarted affections of a grinding childhood combined to focus all her attention upon the children. Apparently neither of the parents was capable of expressing affection for each other or their children by unbending in play or in an easy flow of endearments. Rarely did the children see their parents kiss--or quarrel. Even today Mrs. Jones and John, the elder son, confess to a feeling of embarrassment and distaste when others do so in their presence.

At considerable sacrifice prior to and after Mr. Jones' death the three older children were trained for professional careers although Joan failed to complete high school. On the whole their achievements were such as to draw expressions of admiration from relatives and neighbors and even occasional requests for advice from Mrs. Jones on the rearing of children.

Despite the mother's unremitting concern the subsurface relations within the family were not altogether satisfactory. In interviews Mrs. Jones showed hurt resentment of Jane's "unnatural" hardness and lack of affection from earliest childhood. Jane on the other hand, looking back upon her childhood from the vantage point of a happy marriage, insisted that she had neither received from nor felt much warmth for her mother as far back as she could remember. Mrs. Jones related numerous instances of childhood behavior and temper tantrums which at this date may be interpreted perhaps as unconscious bids for affection and reactions to frustrated affection.

Particularly striking was the extreme sensitivity about property rights displayed in varying degrees by all four children but most markedly by Jane whose relations with her mother were least satisfactory. The use of her possessions or their disarrangement by others would lead Jane to explosive outbursts far beyond the intrinsic importance of the incidents. But if this "touchiness" concerning property rights and order was a frequent cause of intrafamily quarrels, it was also manifested in a stringent honesty. John still remembers quite vividly his first and only attempt at stealing--a nickel on the corner grocer's counter--when he was ten; he recalls the acute anxiety and wild thoughts of running away from home for fear of his parents' discovery of the incident. The epithet dishonest was an effective weapon and together with dirty and sloppy constituted invidious descriptions of other persons and homes. The home was in fact at all times conspicuously clean and orderly, its maintenance as such being a source of pride and satisfaction to Mrs. Jones, as was her unceasing and on the whole successful training of her children in these habits.

With the exception of John with whom she had relatively warm relations[1] Mrs. Jones complained of "unnatural" and "unfilial" attitudes associated with the children's contributions to the straitened family income both before and after the father's death. These contributions were made in what the mother interpreted as a penurious, ungenerous, and self-interested manner even when relatively substantial amounts were provided while, on the other hand, advantages, comforts, and privileges were unthinkingly accepted as normal. Scrupulous overt conformance to obligations was worthless if it did not also symbolize affection.

The almost complete absence of spontaneous affection manifested in the shape of trifling gifts to the parents and for the home also disturbed Mrs. Jones and was a frequent topic of bewildered questioning of the interviewer. The one conspicuous exception however is significant. Joan, the younger daughter, was without friends of her own age and therefore completely dependent upon Mrs. Jones affectively. And Joan was an exception only in the sense that it was she who took the initiative in kissing the mother frequently but without offering those accompaniments of sentiment which would involve a monetary expenditure. It is not without meaning that Joan, the least adequate and self-reliant of the children, values money most highly, likes to carry far more of it than a shopping errand is likely to require and is given to excessive use of cosmetics and jewelry[1]--especially when she is to meet strangers. The other children exhibited in various degrees a tendency to form strong attachments upon short notice and lavish attentions, gifts, favors, or loans on those whom they conceived to be friends. This added to Mrs. Jones' bitterness because she was not given small attentions and gifts. The typical result of these friendships was either the cooling or termination of the relation because sooner or later the other party was interpreted as having failed to live up to the expectations of the role. Interestingly enough Mrs. Jones predicted this and was frequently suspicious of the friends' motivations.

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[1] It is a striking fact that the oldest and youngest of the children who enjoyed a greater degree of affectional response are less disciplined emotionally and more susceptible to illness than the other two.

Certain aspects of Jane's behavior are of interest here as showing apparently some of the forms which frustrated affection may assume. She had become interested in "left wing" movements and individuals when about twenty. After Mr. Jones' death a few years later she set up her own apartment, keeping it--and herself--as immaculate as her mother's had been. But after a lapse of four years during which she had intensified these left wing relationships, Jane's personal appearance and dress had so changed for the worse as to provoke Mrs. Jones' amazed comment. The explanation was that such matters were of little importance in comparison to her intellectual and political activities. But, interestingly enough, it was during Jane's engagement, a period heavily freighted with emotional response, that a sharp break was made with her politically active friends.[1] After marriage her personal appearance and domestic efficiency improved noticeably.

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[1] Their paramagical function for her is quite plain.

The two sons behaved in some respects in a similar manner. Neither they nor Jane made a confidante of their mother while in love. James met and for a considerable period went with his future wife before introducing her to Mrs. Jones about two weeks after they had agreed upon their engagement. While emotionally involved James slackened in his heretofore constant application to work and John became negligent in his academic studies. In accord with this history of affectional inhibition and lack of basic confidence in the parents is the fact that they never enlightened their children in matters of sex.[2]

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[1] The implication is that affective insecurity plays an important part in the motivation of radical movements.

[2] Davis and Dollard, 1940, pp. 273 ff. have noted this typically middle-class attitude and contrasted it with that of the lower classes.

There remain two elements in the behavior pattern of this representative family which seem to be significant for their relation to the frustration of affection.

James had been accustomed to invite his friends, at first students and later full-fledged professional colleagues, to his home--a practice from which Mrs. Jones derived considerable pleasure. But these invitations gradually diminished in frequency. Upon James' marriage, establishment of a separate home and a deliberate attempt to cultivate a wealthier clientele his standard of living advanced. Mrs. Jones witnessed his professional and social success with ambivalent emotions for not only was her home no longer used for entertainment but she and Joan were rarely invited to the new home. Furthermore, when such invitations did come they were to gatherings which seemed carefully designed to exclude the new and socially superior circle of friends. "We're no longer good enough for them," was Mrs. Jones' poignant comment. Parental anguish in experiencing what was interpreted as inadequate response was accentuated when closer ties were seen to be in effect among the members (by blood and marriage) of other families.

The final characteristic of note is the relationship among the siblings. It varied from a latent antagonism toward the younger girl to a relative indifference between John and Jane which has changed of late to a warmer feeling based in part on a common interest in social studies. While affection is not wholly absent between Jane and James the primary focus of attention and pride seems to be his professional success. The younger brother on the other hand respects her intellect. The strongest bond is that between the two brothers, a relation which awaits the testing of diverse interests and social circles. On the whole the affectional ties among the siblings are not conspicuously warm.

The outstanding characteristic, the common denominator of the family's behavior patterns, is the comparative failure of affectional response. In every instance where affectional response was experienced changes in personality could be noticed by friends or relatives--affective insecurity would seem to have been decreased.

The basic assumption is that affective insecurity can lead to tensions and aggressive feelings which, especially in childhood, must be repressed and/or suppressed in view of the dependency relations. The need to retain whatever warmth, and other advantages, that may exist induces the child to exercise self-control and conform to the ideals of conduct expected by the parents. The sublimated and compensatory forms which the frustration may assume are infinitely varied but they all represent surrogates, substitutes on other levels, for affectional security. Failure to experience fulfillment of expectations in this area may be translated, as the Jones family would seem to indicate, into overemphasis upon economic security as manifested by the importance attached to money, strict honesty, and respect for property rights.[1] Foresight, prudence and stinginess, no less than meticulousness as to methodical arrangement of possessions,[2] may become substitute modes of assuring the fulfillment of expectations in other fields.[3] These traits then are viewed as functional solutions on the *personality* level of subjective strains created by affectional frustration in the sphere of *social* relationships.[4] It is for this reason that affectively insecure persons, having only a vicarious balance and therefore a precarious one, tend to react out of proportion to the intrinsic nature of an incident. Because of symbolic implications affecting the whole personality events interpreted as threatening anything associated with these traits may lead to emotional reactions which, however unpleasant to others, are useful for maintaining personal integration. Furthermore, these affective responses can serve a sociological function as may be inferred for example from the all-pervading necessity for honesty in contemporary society.

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[1] Kleptomania seems to be an alternative response to affectional frustration or insecurity. But the structural necessities of most societies tend to rule out stealing as a general and approved pattern. Cf. Pfister, 1948, p. 564, on kleptomania and money as surrogates for love.

[2] Punctuality is another of the Jones family's traits which fits into this complex. Lateness in meeting appointments tends to be interpreted as a refusal of response as well as a lack of respect for one's dignity.

[3] Silas Marner and Old Scrooge are literary treatments of this theme. To anticipate, George El~~l~~iot's revolt against her strict Protestant upbringing is a case in point.

[4] This approach avoids an overemphasis upon a genetic and individualistic interpretation of these characteristics as a "regression to or fixation upon the anal stage." The orthodox Freudian explanation of this complex of traits is presented in Brown and Menninger, 1940, pp. 211, 217. Compare the discussion which follows.

A caveat is entered here in order to avoid misunderstanding. There is no intention of implying that these traits arise only from affectional frustration, that affectionally secure persons are not characterized by them nor that the origin of a trait affects its moral evaluation. Interest is focused upon the examination of the possible consequences and implications of one psychological process; others are deliberately ignored. Sexual frustration which, except for a footnote or two, falls outside the limits of this study is undoubtedly of major importance although much which psychoanalysis of the orthodox persuasion attributes to this factor probably is due to affectional frustration.[1] The two, however, are not only analytically distinct but have been differentiated empirically.[2]

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[1] Cf., for example, Suttie, 1935.

[2] Kardiner, 1939, Ch. 6 and Mead, 1935, Pt. 2. The prostitute-client relation is one where there is an institutionalized separation between erotic and affectional response.

One process is abstracted out of an indefinite number. The concrete significance of the distinction is emphasized by those marriages which are unsuccessful despite mutually satisfactory sex relations. The failure to realize this fully accounts in part for the Freudian error of reducing the content of dreams and many phases of social behavior to the status of sex symbolism, overlooking the possibility that sexual symbols may represent nonsexual aspects of relationships.

II. ELEMENTS IN THE GENESIS OF A BASIC PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

The constellation of strict honesty and respect for property rights, great interest in money, its prudent management and accumulation, punctuality, orderliness and cleanliness, self-control, affective neutrality, concentration upon intellectual affairs, unremitting application to a career and social climbing is a modern commonplace. It is suggested that the genesis of this complex in a number of persons is to be traced to their early family history. What movements or conditions then can have had the power of so influencing the intimate relationships of domestic life that the frustration and repression of affectional response became a general condition leading to a basic personality structure[1] corresponding to this constellation of traits? Social disorganization as such while capable of disrupting established patterns of feeling, thinking, and acting does not automatically provide substitutes of any particular nature.[2] It can only offer potentialities and opportunities to be fought over by the protagonists of competing designs for an emergent social structure.

While a functioning society can and does mold personalities according to cultural norms congruent with its structural necessities, the _inception_ of personality standards cannot be explained by appealing to the requirements of a _future_ society.[3] What ideological patterns, widely held prior

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[1] In Linton's sense (foreword, Kardiner, 1939, p. VI): ". . . the constellation of personality characteristics which would appear to be congenial with the total range of institutions comprised within a given culture."

[2] Compare the discussion of the broken-pattern situation in the preceding chapter.

[3] This is an important part of Max Weber's modification of Marx's view of the weight attributed to the "conditions of production." Marx himself was not unaware of the importance of a moral factor prior to and significant for these conditions of production.

"Yet, inasmuch as capitalism developed in a society, where, as Marx says, 'the notion of human equality had already acquired the fixity of a popular prejudice,' its need for human equality involved a contradiction between the principles and the practice of the system. Capitalism was therefore on Marx's view essentially unstable; it was bound to pass into something else, get rid of the root of human inequality within it and become a really social system of production, or, though Marx's optimism hardly admits this possibility, become frank

(Continued on the following page.)

to and during the development of modern Western society, could be associated with the frustration and repression of affectional response?

Only two seem to be of major importance: ascetic Protestantism and monastic Catholicism. But the fact that entrance into clerical orders normally occurred after the individual's personality had crystallized plus the renunciation of family ties required by celibacy--a way of life which the papal authorities had to enforce upon a reluctant clergy after a hard struggle--combined to make Catholic asceticism a strictly limited phenomenon. Moreover, a very wide range of life-careers which more or less closely approach the perfection of the ideal person, Jesus, is offered to the Catholic: from the ordinary lay married Catholic to the highest and most difficult contemplative order. The Protestant faith, however, requires one standard of conduct from its believers--a difficult standard because of the psychological demands incident to the stringent ethical discipline expected. The latter

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[3] (Continued from the previous page.) slavery." (Lindsay, 1937, pp. 100-101.)

It would seem that Marx's devotion to this popular prejudice, which far antedated modern capitalist conditions of production, was so fixed as to prevent his drawing the proper theoretical conclusions as to the relations between technological, economic, and political elements of action on the one hand and the value-attitudes on the other. See Parsons, 1937, pp. 488-495, and Ch. 14, especially pp. 510, 516-523. This chapter will be drawn upon extensively below.

varies, however, with the different branches of Protestantism, especially the Lutheran. The interest of the present study must obviously be concerned with the way of life of the vast majority of lay Catholics as it is also with their Protestant counterparts.

The definition of the situation furnished by a group of ascetic Protestant theological dogmas made it meaningful for the ordinary _laymen_ deeply concerned with religious salvation to shun intimate contact with even his nearest and dearest as possibly damned and contagious sinners.[1] Weber cites Mr. Christian's attitude to wife and children in _Pilgrim's Progress_ as the "ideal type." The self-centered concern with one's own salvation at the expense of family is also exemplified by the account of John Roger's martyrdom in the enormously popular _The New England Primer_.

The single most influential set of ideas capable of producing this coldness of intra- and extra-family relations typical of the ascetic Protestant was that of Calvinism, although similar results issued from other and varying conceptions among Pietists, Baptist sectarians and Methodists.[2] The combination of theological propositions which led to this effect is, briefly, as follows: a transcendental Creator and Ruler of the world who is beyond human comprehension, except for divine revelation; His unchangeable decree has predestined all human souls to eternal salvation or damnation; His creation of the world and man is to increase His glory; to which end all men must strive to establish His Kingdom on Earth according to His revealed law; and, finally, but for divine grace all things of this world are lost in "sin and death."[1]

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[1] This suspicion of others still lingers on in New England if not elsewhere. A professor of social psychology who had been reared in a family of Protestant clergymen remarked, "I know the New England suspicion. You would think they are suspicious in the third month of the foetal stage."

[2] These four constituted ascetic Protestantism for Weber (Parsons, 1937, p. 521, n. 3).

One of the most significant consequences for Weber of these propositions and the one which he understood by ascetic was the control of the "flesh" through subjection to self-imposed discipline in the service of God and the achievement of His purposes.[2] But this control of the flesh did not mean either mortification, denial of good living or rendering it harmless for contemplation. The good things of this world were to be used soberly and rationally as means to better enable God's servants to accomplish His ends. This deliberate control of the impulse life, however, would have been inadequate in itself to create the profound personality changes characteristic of the ascetic Protestant. What was necessary to bring this about was the repression of the impulse life, a repression which could lay the basis for and facilitate conscious control (suppression) of the emotions. By ascetic the present writer understands emotional inhibition produced in the earliest years of life as a consequence of parental relations. That "inner isolation of the individual" which Weber noted may have been originally the product of intellectual assent to the Calvinistic doctrine,[1] but it was only after this intellectual construct had been translated into the coldness of intra-family relations that the ascetic strain in Protestant personality could propagate itself for generation after generation.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 522.

[2] Ibid., p. 523.

The origin of Protestant discipline and self-control is found in the earliest days of childhood. The precocious maturity, independence, responsibility, and self-possession of Puritan children were familiar enough to contemporary observers.[1] It is of the utmost importance to the child that he win and retain the affectional response of his parents, the mother particularly.[2] To do so self-discipline and conformity to the norms of exemplary personality and behavior upheld by the parents are required. These psychological considerations be it noted were complementary to and re-enforced the dogmatic interests in self-control and rationalization of conduct.

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[1] It is difficult not to observe the rather obvious resemblance between Calvin's conception of God and his relations with his father. See Pfister, pp. 391 ff. A similar parallel will be noted later between Mary Baker Eddy and her experiences and doctrine.

[2] This "inner isolation" was manifested to a most unusual degree among the Quakers by their burial customs. Relatives were not usually buried near each other but in the order of death. In this way economy in burial space was achieved! (The famous ascetic Protestant rationality.) "But as the Quakers in general have overcome the prejudice of 'sleeping with their fathers' [a commentary on the quality of parental relations?] such memorials [tombstones with a genealogy] cannot be so useful to them." (Clarkson, 1806, vol. 2, pp. 28, 31.)

The independence and responsibility of the Puritan child remained with the adult. But if these traits were and are characteristic of ascetic Protestants to such a degree that their seventeenth and eighteenth century contemporaries noticed it and related it to their religion as did social scientists of the last generation, and this one also, it is necessary to examine a dissent which, indeed, implies that these traits are inherent in Catholicism. Amintore Fanfani rejects the idea that Protestantism encourages initiative more than Catholicism because the former confers direct and complete responsibility on the individual without the intercession of the saints or the prayers of others.

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[1] It is clear that the existence of similar traits in other societies presents separate problems as to their sociological origin, problems of the manner in which personality tensions arise, the ages of their inception, their magnitude and modes of release.

[2] Cf. Suttie, passim.

> . . . [this] mistake lies in the failure to remember that in Catholic doctrine the intercession of the Saints has nothing to do with individual responsibility. Such responsibility is in no doctrine so categorically asserted as in that of Catholicism, which relates salvation to works and faith, in contrast to the Protestants, who emancipate, so to speak, the individual from the weight of responsibility, making his salvation depend either on the immutable decrees of God, or on the sole faith in the merits of the Redeemer.[1]

It is important to notice here that Fanfani completely confuses the logical and psychological consequences of theological propositions, an error against which Weber warned. No amount of logical deduction from the concept of predestination can explain away the phenomena of ascetic Protestant dynamism and moral autonomy. It is of course true on the level of Catholic doctrine that in the sight of God and the Church responsibility rests with the individual Catholic. But the presence of intercessory powers in the hands of the Church, the possibility and availability of appeals to it, and the intervention of the saints unite to blunt the psychological effects of formal responsibility.[2]

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[1] Fanfani, 1939, p. 200 and n. 3.

[2] For example, "The Saints were the wisest men and women who ever lived. See how they confided in Mary. What a child cannot do, its mother usually can do for him. Mary (Continued on the following page.)

Furthermore, the responsibility of the Catholic in a situation where a difficult moral problem arises and the correct moral choice is in doubt is considerably eased by consultation with and obedience to the directions of the official representative of the Church. The latter is acknowledged by the faithful to be the sole possessor and guarantor of divinely revealed moral truth applicable to all situations.[1] The knowledge of the presence of the priest and his availability is sufficient to diminish the level of tension implicit in making a moral choice.

The relation of the Catholic to the priest is in essentials identical with that of the parents of a sick child and the physician. The knowledge that there is available a legitimate specialist in healing, that is, an institutionalized role of expert in therapeutics, who may be called upon in need is sufficient to relieve the parents of anxiety in some degree. When he actually assumes charge of the case (as does the priest

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[2] (Continued from previous page.) our Heavenly Mother can do anything she desires for us. She need merely express Her desires to Her Divine Son, and they are accomplished." (Weekly Bulletin, October 20, 1946; SS. Peter and Paul Parish, Tucson, Arizona. I am indebted to Dr. Luke M. Smith for this bulletin.)

[1] Her ubiquitous authority is solidly founded in revealed truth and as a consequence it has been applied in the past through the confessional "to the detail of life" (Ginsberg, 1948, p. 17) as it is today (for example, Connell, 1946).

when consulted in the confessional or elsewhere) the parents are relieved of a heavy burden.[1] The responsibility for calling the doctor and following his instructions remains with the parents, but only that, not of diagnosing and treating the case. Corroborative evidence may be cited from extensive experimental data compiled from the behavior of fifty male Harvard College students.[2]

The Catholic subjects were conspicuously more solid and secure and the Jews less so than the average. (It is a fair assumption that Protestant subjects were a close approximation to the average.) There was relatively little anxiety-linked material bubbling up in the minds of the Catholics. Their repressions were firmer.

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[1] To a certain extent they are also relieved of the burden of disciplining the child; this can be thrown upon the Church and priest. The target of aggression is deflected in varying degrees toward the Church as it often is in different societies toward ghosts, demons, neighbors, police, etc. But if this allows the parents to give the child love unconditionally, without the assumption of complete responsibility for disciplining the child and thereby incurring its hostility, this is accomplished at the cost of a shallower internalization of ethical principles buttressed on conditioned affectional response; response unambiguously linked to normative expectations. The triangular relationship among child, parents, and Church paves the way for an attitude of the type revealed in the bulletin quoted above and the evasion of the consequences of universalistic principles by particularistic appeals of the kind described by Whyte, 1943, 1944.

[2] Murray, 1938, p. 739. The explicit and implicit value judgments are irrelevant to the present study. The italics are added.

It was as if their faith in an ultimate authority relieved them of the necessity of independently resolving fundamental issues. Their unconscious fears, one might say, *were quieted by the hovering presence of the maternal Church*. And if they were unable sometimes to live up to the precepts of their religion, they knew that forgiveness was always at hand. A secret, remorseful confession and once more they would be beneficently accepted members of the flock.[1]

In the rationalized fantasy system of an effective Church there is a place for everything, and *the faithful communicants do not have to face--and thus become conscious of and wrestle with--the naked impulses of their own souls. The problem of good and evil is settled and only the problem of moral will* remains. Our Catholic subjects were relatively happy, free from neurotic symptoms, blissfully self-deceived, superficial in their psychological discernments, and always competent to clothe raw facts in the rational vestments of their faith.[2] In these respects the Jewish subjects were outstandingly different. Most of them were highly self-conscious, relatively insecure, burdened by neurotic complexes, painfully aware of disturbing impulses and feelings, psychologically penetrating, and unusually quick to

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[1] It was not considered necessary in the preceding discussion to enlarge upon the obvious tension-releasing effects of the confessional which stood in the way of the extension of a rational mode of life among the Catholic laity. (Cf. Weber, 1927, p. 365.)

The Protestant resembles the Jew in that both lack the mediator between man and God, while the Jew is much more insecure as a result of his marginal position in a society which is at best only latently hostile. But the strain incident to moral autonomy differs for Protestant and Jew despite the formal resemblance due to the lack of a mediator. There is no *effective* demand upon the Jew for that unremitting, lifelong emotional inhibition and control which characterizes the ascetic Protestant.

[2] This description is the more important since the subjects were not *parochial* college students and presumably therefore had been exposed to "unsettling" influences.

> comprehend (and often accept) even the least flattering interpretation of their behaviour. They were not contained by their religion and they never made use of its symbolism in depicting their difficulties.

The consequences of self-discipline and conformity to the demands of Protestant parents were not exhausted by the personality traits referred to above. Conformance had to be paid for, and not alone by those contrasts to the Catholic subjects studied by Murray and his staff. One aspect of the price for affectional frustration is suggested by the phenomena associated with the Salem witch hunts. Although belief in witchcraft was almost universal throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and can be accounted for as the culturally shaped expression of anxiety incident to profound social disorganization, the influence, among other factors, of frustrated affection is not thereby invalidated. An instructive parallel is the relation of malevolent spirits, the *vehini-hai* and *fanaua*, to a similar psychosociological situation in Marquesan society.[1] Anxiety due to this type of frustration is everywhere present in varying degrees. The advent of ascetic Protestantism, however, could not but help inaugurate a substantial rise in the "normal" magnitude of affectional frustration with a corresponding increase of anxiety from this source; an anxiety which could easily be rationalized according to the Old Testament injunctions anent witches. Scarcely a trace of spontaneous affection is present in the popular children's reading of the period, for example, The New England Primer[1] and James Janeway's A Token for Children.[2]

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[1] Kardiner, 1939.

But whatever the psychological penalties the cold disciplined energy provided drive enough for the reconstruction of society.[3] The rigid probity, adherence to contractual obligations, unflagging application to secular tasks, "methodism," punctuality, prudence, and allied qualities were relatively new and conspicuous traits (at least in distribution and intensity); traits which endowed these sectarians with worldly success in part because they could be depended upon in business transactions.[4]

The motivation for these traits' development may be sought in the nature of Protestant religious beliefs and approached from two interrelated directions. One of these, the effect of the elimination of ritual, will be discussed later.

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[1] Ford quotes Jonathan Edward's opinion of children as "young vipers and infinitely more hateful than vipers" to God (1897, p. 1).

[2] 1771.

[3] Tawney, 1938, describes the essence of Puritanism as organized and disciplined will (pp. 182-183) directed toward the revision of social institutions to embody Calvinism's idea of Christian character (pp. 112, 114, and 243).

[4] Weber, 1930; p. 69 in particular. Compare J. G., A Small Help offered to Heads of Families for Instructing Children and Servants, Morris-Town, 1814, pp. 34-35. See also Clarkson, 1806.

Of decisive importance in the development of the Protestant personality structure was the shift from strict predestinarianism on the theological level to the acceptance of a certain type of overt behavior and worldly success as *symptomatic* of salvation. The highly competitive nature of the emergent society derived in part from this source also. The Calvinist dogmas emphasized the *unconditional* nature of God's love for the elect whom He had arbitrarily chosen.[1] But when material success and its associated personality characteristics were accepted as indications of membership in the body of the elect the result for all practical and psychological purposes was that believers had to *earn* God's love by the acquisition of these signs.[2] Once this interpretation had been accepted it followed that the greater the worldly success the more certain was the imputation of salvation. Since this was the ultimate end the motivation to action was of the strongest and the resultant competition acknowledged few of the traditional limits.[1] With the fading of salvation as the goal secular achievement and the competitive personality type were transformed from the status of instrumentalities to that of ends in themselves.[1] Indeed from the very beginning ascetic personality traits tended to supersede in normative evaluation the actual achievements which came to be regarded as by-products.[2] It is by no means uncommon even at present to come upon a positive evaluation of wealth as a symbol of achievement and of the character traits necessary to that achievement. The emphasis is less on wealth than on what it symbolizes. It remains nonetheless true, however, that in a huge, complex, and mobile society where most people are anonymous to each other, the ownership of wealth is often equated with the possession of the virtues associated with it. Furthermore, in this situation the instrumental and symbolic importance of money exerts a constant pressure against the institutionalized normative constraints upon the methods of its acquisition.[3]

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[1] Weber, *op*. *cit*., p. 103.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 110-115.

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[1] See "A Dialogue Between Christ, Youth, and the Devil" in *The New England Primer*. It is the *Devil* who urges *obedience* to human law, custom, and the sayings of great men. It is he who incites to swearing, cursing, drinking, and other of the Youth's sensual indulgences on the ground that since repentance is always effectual it might as well be postponed to old age. Compare Weber on Catholic death-bed repentance. See Cotton Mather, 1911-1912: "In my Discourses with my children, I will mightily propound and commend it unto them, that they do excellent Things, and that tho' others may do vertously, they may excell even their most vertuous Neighbors. I would therefore earnestly putt them upon consideration of that Point, *What do you more than others*? And they shall join with me--in considering what more particular Excellencies, they shall be studious of." (pp. 159-160.)

The break with traditional limits and manner of doing business should not be confused with the absence of moral rules in that sphere; quite the contrary as subsequent analysis will demonstrate. There is naturally no denial of corruption in American business and political life but this is no sign of the absence of moral rules. An adequate perspective in these matters is offered by a broad-gauged comparison of American and, for example, traditional Chinese attitudes. The technical definition of bribery is the acceptance by the occupant of an office of advantages morally precluded by his role. In this sense both societies frown upon bribery, but the important point is the *content* of the concept. In the United States and more generally and in different degrees Western culture, universalistic criteria of competence tend to bar the acceptance of what are defined as particularistic advantages, for example, consideration of friendship and kinship ties as well as monetary inducements. But in Chinese family-centered society kinship and friendship bonds are primary so that employment of strangers in preference to friends and relatives because of superior ability tends to be defined as bribery and, hence, illegitimate. Compare Crow, 1937.

It seems clear that both situations, that based upon the original conception of predestination and its secular derivative, are eminently conducive to strain for those who have internalized the respective ideologies. The strain is intimately connected with two facets of the Puritan ethic and its implications. The first is the emphasis on self-perfectability (and its concomitant ethically motivated need-gratification renunciations) either as instrumental to salvation or secular success, or as an end in itself,[1] obligatory upon all believers. The second is the necessarily limited opportunity for achieving either salvation or secular success. In the original Calvinistic doctrine God had for his own inscrutable reasons condemned all but a small number (the Elect) to eternal damnation. And on the secular level worldly success is in fact limited to a relatively small proportion for reasons having to do with variations in capacity and opportunity, the nature of the social structure and the disparity between scarce resources and demand. The response to the strain implicit in these facts assumed two forms, the first and more obvious being that which on the theological level opened the gates of salvation to all. The second and closely allied development was the high evaluation placed upon effort irrespective of failure or success; the obligation upon everyone is to try, to do the best one can regardless of the odds. This is crucial to the Protestant-American value-orientation; the Protestant conscience can ask little more:

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[1] A large-scale demonstration of what Allport has called the "functional autonomy of motives" (1937, Ch. 7).

[2] See Increase Mather, 1703, pp. 35-38. The purely secular attitude may be noted in McGuffey's Fourth Eclectic Reader, 1879, in stories entitled "Try, Try Again," "Lazy Ned," "Where There is a Will There Is a Way," "Waste Not, Want Not," "Consequence of Idleness," "Advantages of Industry," and "Hugh Idle and Mr. Toil." For a more recent exemplar see the analysis of Alfred Marshall in Parsons, 1937, Ch. 4. Compare Tawney, p. 244.

[3] See Merton, 1938.

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[1] The doctrine of man's self-perfectability is not, of course, exclusive with ascetic Protestantism. It is present in different theological and psychological contexts and with varying degrees of institutionalization among adherents of diverse Christian sects as well as in Judaism which is probably the single most important source of the idea in Western culture.

> For when the one
> Great Scorer Comes
> to write against your name,
> He writes not
> That you won or Lost--But How You
> PLAYED THE GAME.[1]

The functional utility of this conception and attitude in easing and making more bearable the strain of indifferent achievement in the competitive occupational sector is both obvious and important for the individual and the social structure.[2]

While the changes mentioned above applied chiefly to the male, the woman could not escape them. The drive toward secular achievement was generated in both sexes but, due to the traditional confinement of women to the home (although the Puritan woman in business was not a rarity), it was directed all the more strongly toward domestic competence. Since the opportunities for exercising and thereby easing the drive-producing tensions were restricted the strain upon the ascetic Protestant female may well have been greater than that upon the male but for her more intimate contact with children as objects of affection. In this connection it is of the utmost significance that psychoanalysts have long noted the compulsive methodical cleanliness associated with the repression of aggression in neuroses as a tension-releasing device.

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[1] A placard in a garment cleaning shop. It will be recalled that the Calvinistic God demanded that all, saints and sinners alike, work for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth. Compare the reference above to McGuffey's Reader.

[2] It is desirable to make explicit here the theoretical point of view beneath the argument of the entire study. There is no inherent relationship between affectional frustration and inhibition and the drive toward achievement. The linkage arises from a cultural pattern, largely theological in origin, which is internalized in that stage of the life cycle during which the main features of the personality are established.

Rituals involving actual or symbolic washing have almost universally been employed in expiation of violations of religious taboos and to moderate the consequent anxiety arising from disturbed sentiments. There seems to be a symbolic as well as an inherently appropriate connection between "pollution" and cleanliness.[1] If it is realized that to the ascetic Protestant the world of secular activity had been transformed into a monastery where religious beliefs and sentiments were in constant danger of violation,[1] his (and her) preoccupation with cleanliness and method takes on added meaning. Here then the proverbial neatness and cleanliness of the Puritan home "make sense" as affording opportunities for the reduction of religiously derived tensions. Furthermore, to the extent that the home is the stage where basic religious values are put into effect and transmitted to the rising generation, the daily round of household duties assumes an aspect of ritual and not mere burdensome detail.

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[1] The relationship is not always a simple one. The "dirty" saints in the Christian tradition have been associated with the mortification of the body as a consequence of the belief in the inherent sinfulness of the flesh. In classic Greece, however, personal cleanliness may have been connected with the idea that the body was the temple of the soul.

Ascetic Protestantism in its heyday exercised a selective influence on the selection of the sexes. Although it was "better to marry than to burn" intimacy with one of the damned was an everpresent danger which behooved marriage with one of the elect.[2] However honored in the breach, the tendency was toward a choice of mates marked by piety and competence in the performance of objective tasks--for the woman proven domestic ability, for the man occupational achievement based on efficiency--since the degree to which these criteria were exemplified could be interpreted as a sign of election and noncontamination in so far as salvation was concerned. Thus for both sexes manifestation of affection became a somewhat less dangerous emotional indulgence when conditioned upon continued achievement in their respective spheres.

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[1] See Baxter, 1830, vol. 12, ch. 7.

[2] See Increase Mather, 1679, p. 92. He deplores marrying off children with more of an eye to "portion than at piety." He was, apparently, an early advocate of assortative mating. See Clarkson, 1806, for the Quaker tendency to marry within the sect (vol. 2, pp. 8 ff.).

But the uninhibited expression of emotion, positive or negative, erotic or otherwise, could not break through without the production of anxiety as long as the dogmatic beliefs were internalized as part of the Puritan conscience.[1] The literature of the period abounds in revelations of the struggle for emotional control and appreciation of the resultant personality traits.[2] An excerpt from a book for children gives as fine an insight as any into the Puritan's emotional frigidity:

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[1] It is conceivable that the inhibition of affectional response associated with the emotionally controlled personality ideal carried with it a tendency toward sexual frigidity especially in the Protestant female, since affectional and erotic response are so closely intertwined. The danger of affectional expression to the stability of the personality and to the personality ideal is transferred to sexual relations. So powerful and emotionally upsetting a drive as sex may then be interpreted as something dangerous, evil and disgusting when seen through the refractive lens of an ideal in which emotional control is a basic value. Once this association has been established sexual frigidity may in turn lead to difficulty in the expression of response.

[2] See Baxter, 1840 (1672 ed.), ch. 2. In his autobiography (1696) he admirably presents in a few lines the Puritan juxtaposition of fear for his salvation and the temptations of "sensuality," sober mien and rationality, learning and self-centeredness. God's method for his salvation led Baxter to the study of Practical Divinity, in the most Practical Books, in a Practical Order for the informing and reforming of "my own soul" (p. 5). The italics are Baxter's.

LEARN THESE FEW WORDS BY HEART!

Awake, arise behold thou hast,
Thy Life a Leaf, thy Breath a Blast,
At night lye down prepar'd to have,
Thy Sleep thy Death, thy Bed thy Grave:
Have communion with few; be intimate with One
Deal justly with all, speak evil of none.[1]

Marital and parental love therefore could be safely tendered, theologically and psychologically, only when based upon continuously proven, tangible evidence of the mates' and children's election to salvation. If the spiritual elect could not but prove themselves in domestic and occupational achievement then their offspring must likewise show signs of election. But there could be no certainty on this point; all children are corrupt by nature and God is free in His election to salvation. It was granted that there were a few elect children not born of elect parents, and godly parents had nonelect children, while there was the possibility that the elect could be born to sinners.[2] Thus parents had both disinterested and self-interested motives in training children: disinterested because they wanted the children's salvation and self-interested because any youthful deviation from the norms could be interpreted as due to the damned stock which had given them birth:

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[1] The New England Primer. The sentiments of the last two lines relate to the development of the one-price system discussed below.

[2] Increase Mather, 1678, p. 12; and 1703, pp. 8, 19-20.

> My Mind is visited with dark Thoughts, lest my Children should, thro' the just wrath of Heaven upon me, prove a miserable Offspring. Oh! lett these Fears produce in me, that Repentance, those Prayers, those Tears, those Flights to the Covenant of a gracious GOD, which may issue in this, that my poor Children may be known to be an Offspring which the Lord has blessed.[1]

In this manner there developed that characteristically Protestant middle-class sentiment of conditioned love in marriage and family relations.[2] Judging from the evidence neither parents nor children could have been those objects of wholehearted affection which is now considered ideal,[3] an ideal incidentally which testifies to the changes in modern Protestant personality type. At best they were the focus of rather ambivalent feelings which tended to inhibit unqualified confidence in familial love[1] and thus probably heightened its value to them. It is therefore at least suggestive that the unusually clean and orderly home of today is not infrequently less a home than a house where affectional insecurity may be discerned.

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[1] Cotton Mather, vol. 8, 1911-1912, p. 532. See also "Mather on Catechizing" in The New England Primer. These lines are an interesting demonstration of the clash between the logical consequences of theological propositions and psychological compulsions. The doctrine of predestination affirmed the immutability of God's decision as to eternal salvation or damnation of every human soul. Yet here is a Puritan of the Puritans praying in order to sway the divine decision; paternal affection and the release of tension override the strict logical consequences of dogma.

[2] Compare Mead, 1942, pp. 38, 40, chs. 6, 7.

[3] Rosenbach, 1933; compare the reference to Max Beerbohm in the Introduction. (pp. XLV-XLVI)

The cleanliness and method so conspicuously associated with ascetic Protestantism[2] may now be approached from a different although related point of view. The affinity may perhaps furnish a clue to another prominent feature of this branch of Christianity. Malinowski has flatly declared that

> Every religion, primitive or developed, presents . . . three main aspects, dogmatic, ritual, and ethical, [that] man translates his confidence in spiritual powers into action; that in prayer and ceremonial, in rite and sacrament, he always attempts to keep in touch with that supernatural reality, the existence of which he affirms in his dogma.

Yet within two pages this author cites "the extreme Puritan's scorn and rejection of all ritualism" without attempting to reconcile the glaring exception to his generalization.[3] It is possible of course to use the Puritan's retention of baptism and communion and the modern tendencies of Protestant churches toward increased ceremonialism in worship[1] to support Malinowski's thesis as to the presence and nature of ritual. Yet it remains that for students of religion Protestantism is pre-eminently anti-ritualistic.

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[1] See Baxter, 1830, vol. 19, pp. 309-310; and Janeway, pp. 24, 125-126.

[2] The conjunction of dirty as an adjective with some non-Protestant reference seems to fall trippingly from the tongue, for example, dirty Jew (kike, etc.) or dirty Catholic (mick, wop, etc.) but the tongue stumbles over dirty Protestant --at least in this Protestant country. Would it do so in Eire or Italy?

[3] Malinowski, 1936, pp. 2-4; italics added.

Ritual has been defined[2] as the expression in action of man's active attitudes toward nonempirical reality (operating according to immanent law with automatic consequences if the proper things are done), with magical ritual regarded as an addition to empirical-rational procedures for securing empirical ends. Religious ritual is a means for the attainment of nonempirical ends as well as an expression of religious value-attitudes. But Protestant theology was compelled to reject magical ritual because it implied man's compulsion for his empirical purposes of an omnipotent deity[3] (a blasphemous conception) who demanded unconditional obedience from saint and sinner alike. It also rejected religious ritual because the Deity's inscrutable fiat in relation to nonempirical ends was specifically unalterable, by supplication or any other method.[1] But if the importance of ritual in fortifying faith is as great as scholars in the field of religion believe, its functional equivalent should appear somewhere in Protestantism in addition to the revealed sacraments of baptism and communion.[2]

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[1] See, for example, the article on Protestant churches and their ritual in Life, November 10, 1947, pp. 113 ff.

[2] Parsons, 1937, pp. 432-436.

[3] This is on one level a major factor in the Protestant hostility to magic.

It is suggested that the almost "ritualistic" cleanliness and "method" characteristic of the Puritan are the expression in action of his attitudes toward sacred things because for him the secular world had become the arena for the expression of religious impulses.[3] Tensions had been raised to unprecedented heights by the consequent increase of temptation and concurrent stringent limitations upon emotional expression and the elimination of ritual as permissible modes of release. In this situation the psychologically and theologically possible outlets were in the directions leading to the reformation of the traditional social structure. But the manner in which the Precisianists (as the Puritans were aptly, and significantly, called) behaved, served the same latent purpose.[1] The precise repetitive movements involved in cleanliness and methodical behavior provided vents for action and that psychological feeling of certainty and confidence[2] associated with the re-enactment of old familiar routines which traditionally stereotyped rituals always are. In short the latent function of ritual, the bracing of morale in an uncertain world, was preserved while the "idolatrous" forms of worship were abolished. At the same time cleanliness and method took on manifest functions connected with various kinds of empirical efficiency in the interests of which changes could be made--changes which would have been difficult in ritual as such.

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[1] However incongruous prayer might be in the context of the dogma of predestination there was ample biblical ground for it, as Protestant divines well knew, citing chapter and verse.

[2] The relation of ritual to impersonal orders of sacred forces operating according to immanent law, and of prayer to the conception of personal sacred entities in the Hebraic-Christian tradition will be the subject of further analysis in the final chapter.

[3] For the devout Catholic the monastery or religious order would be the locus for the disciplined expression of such impulses.

It is now possible to understand the deeper psychological and largely unconscious motivations of the ascetic Protestant.

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[1] See Clarkson, 1806, vol. 1, p. 258, for an accusation of idolatry against the Quakers because of this "precisian" in dress. It is significant that reactions against the tension in Puritan life in the form of drunkenness and profanity were also accompanied by resort to articles of clothing which could have had paramagical significance. Immodest dress and the use of periwigs by men were included in the catalogue of colonial New England's backsliding (a very important clue to ascetic Protestant personality) which was thought of as the occasion of God's punishment via the very costly King Philip's War of 1675-1676. See Murdock, 1949, p. 94.

[2] Compare Cotton Mather, 1689, and his Vita Brevis, 1714.

> Troeltsch has pointed out that the rise of modern capitalism implied the existence of a large number of people who worked much harder and longer than was necessary to satisfy their wants, and that that devotion to business for its own sake which had to be widespread in society before capitalism could develop was the direct outcome of Puritan theology and morals.[1]

This moral attitude was translated into vigorous action not alone because the ascetic Protestant creed demanded it but because such behavior met the latent psychological needs arising from the frustration of affectional response. The combination of theological and psychological motivation explains that "demonic" drive of Puritanism which broke through the traditionalism of attitude toward secular activities which Weber held to be a universal phenomenon. A contemporary example may be cited.

> Believe it or not, the labor here [Bolivia] is not cheap. Each man is actually paid what appears to be a low wage to an American, but it takes three men to do one man's work, according to North American standards. Is that cheap labor?
>
> Also, our accepted economic laws do not apply to these people. An increase in wages does not inspire the head of the family to seek better living quarters, provide better food for his family and send his children to school. It merely means that he does not have to work so many days now to get enough food to get along on, and with fewer days to work, there are more days in which to get drunk, and that is what actually happens.

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[1] Lindsay, p. 51. For Quaker interest and characteristics in business compare Clarkson, 1806.

> An increase in miners' wages actually means less production![1]

Other instances of the more usual attitude to work are available, and also from a Catholic-dominated culture, for example New Mexico Spanish Americans.

> Work, to Mrs. Apodaca and her friends, is something that has to be done "hoy mismo" to maintain life, like seed time and harvest, or it is something they thoroughly enjoy doing. . . .
>
> Work has not been elevated to a virtue in the New Mexican mind. Ceaseless physical activity, just to be doing something, is a concept Mrs. Apodaca could never understand. Never once have I heard a Tenorio Flat child wail: "Mamacita, what can I do-ooo?"
>
> Money, like work, is all wrapped around the the concept of hoy mismo. What does one want today that will take money to get--a holiday gift for a friend, a pair of new dancing slippers, a sack of flour for tortillas? Today we work for what we want to buy. When we have enough money for that, we will stop working until another need arises. The "Anglo" way of working day in and day out, for something we may possibly need a decade hence, is something to smile gently about and to cover the smile politely with a shielding brown hand.[2]

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[1] American in Bolivia, "On Bolivian Labor Conditions," a letter to the editor, The Christian Science Monitor, December 15, 1943. Weber had already noted this same reaction to a wage increase; see his Protestant Ethic, 1930, pp. 59-60.

[2] One of many short essays in The Christian Science Monitor's Home Forum page by Dorothy L. Pillsbury about the Spanish Americans she knows so well. This article is in the issue of March 10, 1948. It is corroborated by Leonard and Loomis, 1941: "Hard work and thrift, which are such important factors in many cultures, have never found local adoption in puritanical form. The native has never found nor sanctioned virtue in such practices. True, he has seen and realized

(Continued on the following page.)

It would be difficult to find a more striking contrast to attitudes such as these than the anti-traditionalistic dynamism of Adam Smith who expressed most admirably the sentiments of a partially secularized ascetic Protestantism:

> 'Man was made for action and to promote by the exertion of his faculties such changes in the external circumstances both of himself and others, as may seem most favourable to the happiness of all. He must not be satisfied with indolent benevolence [compare the discussion of humanitarianism later in this chapter], nor fancy himself the friend of mankind, because in his heart he wishes well to the prosperity of the world.' Man 'must call forth the whole vigor of his soul, and strain every nerve, in order to produce the ends which is the purpose of his being to advance. . . . The man who has performed no single action of importance, but whose whole conversation and deportment express the justest, the noblest, and most generous sentiments, can be entitled to no very high reward, even though his inutility should be owing to nothing but the want of opportunity to serve. We still can refuse it to him without blame. We can still ask him, What have you done? What actual service can you produce, to entitle you to so great a recompense? We esteem you, and love you; but we owe you nothing.'[1]

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[2] (Continued from previous page) what such practices can do and for that reason has accepted them in his own fashion. Work and thrift are valuable in accumulating material goods but carry no virtue in themselves. A child is taught that hard work and thrift may bring him security and independence but never that they will add to his moral wellbeing." (I am indebted to Dr. L. M. Smith for this quotation.)

[1] Quoted in Hughes, 1944, pp. 92-93. Compare the quotation from Cotton Mather's diary in the footnote on p. 75 above.

For an inconsistent statement of Catholic and Protestant attitudes toward work it is instructive to quote from H. M. Lynd, 1945, p. 327: "Unsure of his salvation or his

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The same combination of factors, theological and psychological, also helps explain the nonlogical element in the saving of money, a phenomenon which would occur even if interest were not offered as an inducement. The accumulation of capital necessary for the "roundabout" methods of

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[1] (Continued from previous page) place in society he [the Protestant] must labor unceasingly to prove both; work for the Protestant became not, as for the Catholic, a definite prescribed part of established ritual--*Laborare est orare*--through which the devout might attain salvation, but an unending, self-justifying pursuit, the rewards of which were not secure. It was not that the Protestant had a greater religious sanction for work, but that for the Catholic work was a definite means of salvation; he could know where he stood; the Protestant never could, and work became an end in itself."

To the present writer this passage fails to distinguish, at least without ambiguity, between theological and psychological levels of motivation in this instance and their relative empirical importance. The last sentence stands in patent contradiction to the preceding one as well as to another on the next page: ". . . unceasing activity in pursuit of gain as a means of escaping helplessness and personal isolation--that is, work in response to internal compulsion, not to external demand--became a characteristic feature of modern society and an invaluable pillar of capitalism."

Furthermore, the derivation of "a pillar of capitalism" from Protestantism contradicts Mrs. Lynd's position as to the relation of the two phenomena in her footnote on p. 10. It is easy to see that the Catholic conception of work as a means of salvation by way of an established ritual is a powerful bulwark to the sanctified traditional social structure while the Protestant attitude places little obstacle to (if it does not actually further) change. Ritual is tenaciously conservative and hostile to innovation.

production was in part a reflection of the need for a surrogate for affectional response. This is not to be understood as a denial of the importance of the very noticeable tendency to accumulate funds because religious motivation forbade its expenditure upon luxurious living. On this point Thomas Clarkson is illuminating.[1]

If this interpretation of the genesis of the ascetic Protestant personality type is correct, then it is not accidental that in contemporary American Negro society the culture pattern condoning magic, violence, ecstatic religious practices, facile drinking and free sex relations for the lower classes fails to provide the disciplined energy which might be directed toward vertical social mobility. It is precisely the difference in these respects and in the content of the conditions for parental love which permit the formation of the driving energy back of the ascending middle-class Negro.[1]

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[1] Op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 217-218. For a view which is in fundamental disagreement with the present study see L. B. Wright, 1935 and Herbert W. Schneider, "The Puritan Tradition" in F. E. Johnson (ed.), 1948, pp. 1-13. Wright says: "No better illustration of the bourgeois attitude toward the prudential virtues can be found than in [William] Perkins's treatment of temperance, which, incidentally, further disproves the hoary myth of Puritan asceticism." (p. 282).

Perkins preached moderation in the accumulation of wealth, that is, not more than could be utilized in eating, drinking, and recreation. Wright's conception of asceticism is not that of Weber, nor its modification by the present writer. The illustration which Wright cites and his favorite phrase, "prudential virtues," both imply what is basic to asceticism in its present sense: a degree of emotional inhibition which permits the deliberate subordination of the emotions to and for the sake of rational calculation in behalf of an impersonal ideal. Naturally, as everywhere in life, there are degrees, and the extremes to which the Puritans often went (note Wright's term, "grimmer Puritans") lends substance to the "hoary myth." Compare the analysis below, in the section on gambling, of Thomas Gataker's book, On the Nature and Use of Different Kinds of Lots.

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[1] See Allison Davis and John Dollard, 1940. Compare the case histories of the lower- and middle-class adolescents and the discussion on pp. 240-241 and beginning p. 264. It must not be forgotten of course that the color line presents for the vast majority of colored people an insuperable obstacle to advancement. Substantial confirmation of our thesis seems to be afforded by Warner and Lunt, 1941, ch. 7, especially pp. 181 ff. See also Martha C. Ericson, 1946, for differences in patterns of rearing lower- and middle-class children which are such as to tend to create among the latter a greater degree of affectional frustration with the associated tension-derived energy directed toward achievement. Compare too Davis and Havighurst, 1946, as well as Gouldner, 1946. Incidentally, the latter's criticism of the Kardiner and Linton denial of basic personality structures along class lines seems to be supported by the evidence of the present writer's study of affectional frustration according to religious influences; at least, *if* rearing patterns vary according to class lines, then on the Kardiner hypothesis of the importance of childhood experience personality type ought to be affected.

Compare Folsom's excellent sketch of the personality traits stemming from the Puritan family tradition, 1948, with Myrdal's description of the accusation by Southern educators and intellectual leaders that the Southern white possesses the faults attributed to the Negro: violence, laziness, lack of thrift and rational efficiency, lack of punctuality and respect for deadlines, and the casual carrying of weapons (1944, p. 70, note a). Folsom has correctly stressed the importance of the Puritan pattern as against the relatively lesser influence of the Anglican-Southern tradition. In the paper on the Southern family by Vance which follows that of Folsom's just mentioned, the upper-class religious background is Episcopalian, the lower-class Puritan. The decisive factor from the viewpoint of the present study is the fact that both Anglicanism and

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This "proof by absence" brings to a close the inquiry into the part played by affectional frustration in the genesis of that pervasive personality type discerned in the relations of Mrs. Jones and her children. The clues they offer, however, are not yet exhausted and, in conjunction with the same hypothesis, suggest interesting speculations as to certain conspicuous traits in contemporary society.

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[1] (Continued from previous page) Episcopalianism are among the least ascetic of Protestant denominations. Vance, unfortunately, fails to describe the personality traits of the lower-class Puritan family. But in light of Myrdal's account the probabilities are that they vary widely from those described by Folsom and the present writer. It may be suggested that the priority of the Anglican pattern, the presence of the Negro slave for manual labor and easy sexual access to the colored woman account in part for the relative inconspicuousness of Southern ascetic Protestant characteristics. Weber noted that the economic characteristics of the Puritan New England colonies differed from those of Catholic Maryland and the Episcopalian South (Weber, 1930, p. 191, note 21).

There is an apparent contradiction between the predominantly Protestant affiliation of the Negro and his decidedly non-Protestant qualities. This contradiction is resolved by the fact that the Negro, more especially the large majority of lower-class Negroes, is Protestant by church denomination only, that is, not by personality type; there has been relatively little internalization of Protestant theological beliefs and values. This is traceable in good part to the circumstance that most slaves were imported after 1715, when the original Protestant fervor had largely died away. The effect of the breaking up of the Negro's family life is undoubtedly an influential factor also. The great insecurity of the Negro in white society when combined with the relatively undisciplined emotional pattern of family life and the limited nature of the opportunities for advancement, have made violent emotional expression the easiest outlet for tension.

III. DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGES IN A BASIC PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

With the decline in potency of religious beliefs and interests[1] the conditions giving rise to the ascetic Protestant personality type were slowly undermined. How slowly may be judged from the painting, "American Gothic," by Grant Wood.[2]

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[1] In the early stages of the movement the direction of energy into intellectual channels which was noted in the Jones family took the form of public education to facilitate Bible study and the development of mathematics and the natural sciences. The latter at the same time met the commercial, industrial, and military needs of the emergent social order. See Weber, 1930; and Merton, 1939 and 1938.

[2] The male in the picture recalls Cassius' "lean and hungry look," a phrase which accurately describes this molding of facial lines by emotional discipline from infancy onward. It may be more than a coincidence that Shakespeare endows him with several other typically Puritan traits. See *Julius Caesar*, i, 2, beginning line 194; Storm Jameson, 1930, pp. 21, 200, 288; and Weber, 1930, p. 127.

The tenacity with which emotional inhibition is embedded in the Protestant personality structure may be seen in recent American art.

"The review of American painting and sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art, a group of small one-man shows by fourteen artists whom the museum considers to have done outstanding work in 1946, exhibits characteristics that usually appear in American art--repression, lack of arrogance, limited display of emotion, picayunishness, sternness and sobriety. Most of the pieces carefully avoid crude, spontaneous or troubling notes. There is so much restraint of feeling, so much impersonality, so much coldness and emphasis on technique that you are made uneasy and nervous by all the quiet, regulated creativity." (Manny Farber, "An American Show," *The New Republic*, October 14, 1946).

Rorschach's observations on the importance of the extratensive element in persons with an aptitude for organization (p. 110), his description of the extratensive's

(Continued on the following page)

The title reveals an appreciation of the type's importance for the American scene and pronounces judgment as to its passing. The expression of its affectional needs could be directly realized in its relations to others only after the disintegration of the hitherto inhibiting concepts.[1] The more facile expression of emotion in social relationships and the institutionalization of affection in domestic affairs followed.[2]

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[2] (Continued from the previous page) personality traits (p. 83), the latter's preference for Christian Science (p. 110) and his remark that English art's preference for black and white is an instance of the avoidance of color by those who inhibit and suppress their emotions (p. 112), all tend to support the analysis of the ascetic Protestant personality type presented above and of the Christian Scientist discussed below. The results of an attempt to apply some of the Rorschach color findings to the color preferences of English-speaking authors must be deferred to another occasion.

Strict English Protestantism's distrust of the senses and, hence, the avoidance in religious and artistic literature and ceremony of vividly descriptive language by the Puritans is adequately explained by the factor of emotional inhibition without the resort to "racial" factors as, for example, does Murdock (1949, p. 17). The fact that English Catholics and Anglicans were more given to such usage implies that they were not or were less British than the strict Puritans--if Murdock's argument (for which no proof is given) is accepted.

[1] Russell, 1923, and Weber's personal philosophy may perhaps be interpreted as secularized descendants of the Puritan's lonely stoicism.

[2] See Duvall, 1946, for differences in family patterns which exemplify the transition. Compare also the congruence between Piaget's heteronomous and autonomous moral types and Duvall's "traditional" and "developmental" conceptions of behavior and ideals.

The reticence, suspicion,[1] and aloofness of the ascetic Protestant were transmuted into that sensitivity to and respect for the rights of others which characterize the evaluation of the responsible individual personality. It has taken the form of an insistence upon the rights of privacy within the home[2] and there has developed ". . . a certain refinement and spiritual and ethical penetration of marital relationships, with a blossoming of matrimonial chivalry. . . ."[3] This development may be attributed largely to the peculiar importance of affection in the contemporary American personality and social structure[4] and the impossibility of coercing more than the external signs of love. The voluntary nature of mutual response[1] constrains a pair to earn and retain their love by a delicate consideration of each other's susceptibilities. The same situation is less true by far of purely erotic response which can be bought as well as coerced. It is for this reason probably that the originally coarse and hygienic approach of the Puritan to sex relations in marriage has been changing toward a rational development of sex technique in the service of affectional response.[2]

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[1] This quality of social relations is carried to an extreme among the Dobu (Benedict, 1946) and is of interest here precisely because of the absence of universalist principles and a single personal and transcendental moral god among the Dobu. In the Protestant case, as will be shown, this suspicion in combination with the moral demands of God has resulted in the institutionalization of universalist principles to an unusual degree.

[2] Compare Gorer, 1948, for a different opinion on this point. He is correct in so far as the need for affectional response leads to infringements upon such rights which have been established. The latter is seen most clearly among those families whose economic position permits the realization of the ideal of separate rooms for different members of the family.

[3] Weber, 1930, p. 264, note 2.

[4] Compare Gorer, p. 132; and Stead, The Monitor, January 11, 1950, p. 1.

It is perhaps not so much a question of Lutheranism leaving untouched a natural spontaneity of emotional response as Weber believed, as its effect in stimulating this attitude by training in the outpouring of emotion in mystic union with the divine. The direction of response toward people as distinct from that toward a supernatural entity was encouraged by the elimination of the monastery and the equal sanctification of sacred and secular callings. The greater dependency upon and facility in human response, Gemütlichkeit, in Lutheran circles may have arisen as a result of these factors rather than suspicion and distance as among the more ascetic branches of Protestantism.[1] But precisely because of this more general responsiveness the need for that type of exclusive affectional union idealized by the concept of romantic love in marital relations among ascetic Protestant peoples was less capable of development. This line of reasoning would seem to explain both that coarseness in domestic sexual relations which Weber noticed in Germany and the refinement and spiritualization in these matters among English-speaking peoples. Among the latter, the stimulation of the need for affectional response has tended to make man and wife equals in that respect and, in turn, on the level of mutual respect. Without the latter love is impossible or at least extremely difficult. This equality is an incentive for self-control and toleration within the family, characteristics which extend to the offspring as well. The resemblance between the ascetic Protestant development in the family pattern and the psychological presuppositions of Piaget's autonomous morality type is striking.

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[1] Kingsley Davis, 1936; also Parsons, 1943.

[2] For example, Butterfield, 1938. The author was formerly a pastor in the Methodist Episcopal Church; it is a booklet designed for and used by ministers, physicians, and marriage counselors in advising their clientele on these matters.

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[1] In this connection see Allport, 1937, pp. 538, 543. While Germany is the center of a *Verstehendepsychologie* which attempts to understand the individual personality, English-speaking psychologists have preferred methods applicable to the investigations of "*populations* of people" (italics added) rather than "concrete personalities." It would appear that both in economics and psychology the English-speaking societies have shown, in contrast with the German, a marked preference for the 'surgically cold' analytic approach. Suttie, 1935, has some interesting insights concerning impersonality in modern culture and its relation to affectional frustration.

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The need for affection which ascetic Protestantism simultaneously strengthened and denied satisfaction showed itself in two directions after the intensity of religious belief had diminished. In view of the psychological and theological situation referred to above the probabilities, assuming affectional frustration, favored the prior emergence on a large scale of a more impersonal or emotionally disciplined manifestation of response.[1] The institutionalization of domestic affection therefore will be considered later. Since an exhaustive analysis is beyond the limits of this study the suggestive results of cursory reading are presented.

If the assumption is correct an investigation into the origins of benevolent organizations appearing since the advent of Protestantism should reveal a significant differential in its influence. Obviously, humanitarian organizations and private acts of charity are an authentic aspect of the Judaic-Christian tradition and indeed of other cultures. Therefore the forms taken by these marks of fellow-feeling ought to be examined. Aside from the rational organization of monastic, that is, ascetically oriented, ventures in this field,

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[1] It should not be overlooked that there were at all times in these circles many instances of warm friendship, love, and spontaneous acts of charity because of the very needs stimulated by the frustration of affection. The experience of the Jones family is witness to that. See also Baxter, 1840, pp. 35-37.

Catholicism tended to encourage random acts of benevolence each of which might be reckoned toward atonement for particular sins. The effect of ascetic Protestantism however was entirely different. The predestination dogma tended to cut away, or at least diminish, the religious motivation for charity. The modern forms of humanitarianism in which "compassionate sentiment" is collected and fused into "an energetic whole" is a product of the eighteenth century[1] and entirely in accord with the personality structure of Protestantism. Furthermore, modern philanthropy began with the Reformation and is manifested most strongly in northern Europe where the Reformation rooted itself most deeply.[2] Even more germane to our thesis is the fact that the turn of the seventeenth century was marked by a new departure in philanthropy: the beginning of rationally organized "societies" with funds donated for both religious and philanthropic work.[3]

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[1] "Humanitarianism," James Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 6:836; and Weber, 1930, pp. 115-116.

[2] "Humanitarianism."

[3] "Philanthropy," Hastings, 6:837-839. The rational organization of these societies implies a certain impersonality of attitude in comparison with the impulsive and random acts of direct aid to the distressed. In addition the intervention of a third party between giver and receiver of charity relieves the former of the embarrassment arising from the emotionality implicit in the act, a feeling repugnant to the emotionally inhibited Protestant.

A glance at the background of people prominent for their humanitarian labors is enough to demonstrate the profusion of Protestant affiliation. Their conspicuous activity in these fields is of a piece with the peculiar susceptibility of English-speaking peoples to charitable appeals for the alleviation of suffering in foreign countries.[1] In other words "soft-heartedness and *systematically* organized benevolence, however contradictory they may appear to be on the surface, seem to be most at home in those areas where an affection-frustrated personality structure is characteristic.[1] But there is nothing in this view which contradicts the possibility and fact of cultural diffusion elsewhere of traits more congenial to these societies. Whatever influence Jewish philanthropy may have had prior to the Reformation was in the direction of unsystematized benevolence characteristic of Catholicism as well as Judaism.

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[1] The citation of an article, "Philanthropy," in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), is admittedly suspect as an English- and Protestant-influenced source. Yet it is "passing strange" that the French, German, and Italian encyclopedias consulted, and the Jewish and Catholic also, have little or nothing to offer in the way of similar information under the terms Philanthropy and Humanitarianism. The extent of philanthropy among the Jewish people indicates the complex origins of the phenomenon for the Jews do not seem to be affectively frustrated in their domestic relations in the manner attributed to ascetic Protestantism.

It may be noted that the emotional susceptibility of English-speaking peoples coupled as it is with dislike of emotional expression as a threat to the stability of personality is back of their dislike of propaganda. The latter is believed to be composed in varying degrees of *distortions* of fact and the appeal to emotion directed at insecure areas of the personality. Both elements are peculiarly repugnant to the *universalism* and *impersonality* of the ascetic Protestant personality type. It is significant that during the recent World War and in the arguments in Congress for the peace-time continuance of official American broadcasting to foreign countries both *these* characteristics were insisted upon by proponents and opponents. It is worth noting that while in this country propaganda has the connotation of distortion of truth and outright lies, the same word simply means advertising or publicity elsewhere. The American discounting of advertising and the sceptical disdain for its extravagant claims fit into this same pattern. Compare Phillips, 1945, and also *Time*, May 26, 1947, pp. 92-93, for a report of the findings of the Committee on Consumer Relations in Advertising:

"A majority [of 2,000 consumers] thought ads interesting, although too emotional and not factual enough. . . . They objected to detailed references to bodily functions, ads (Continued on the following page)

Although Western secular and monastic nursing orders flourished from the twelfth to the latter part of the seventeenth century the standards rapidly declined from that period until the first third of the last century. This is of course consonant with ascetic Protestantism's *early* influence upon personal relations as well as the general social disorganization of the period. The subsequent effect however is exemplified by the start of modern dispassionate nursing which began its scientific career in 1836 at Kaiserswerth, Germany, under Protestant auspices with the founding of an institute for the instruction of deaconesses. Elizabeth Fry, an English Quaker, preacher and worker among the poor, who was interested in the German project, established a nursing school in London in 1840. Florence Nightingale was of Unitarian stock and reared in a "priggish atmosphere" engendered by the intense religious feelings of post-Napoleonic times.[1] Her education in nursing was also acquired at Kaiserswerth.

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[1] (Continued from the previous page) with the gossip theme (the "careless" beauty who becomes a social outcaste) and the sexy illustrations (44% would completely ban the nude or semi-nude). Despite the years of plugging 'nationally advertised' brands, only 12% of the consumers thought that the best way to buy was to purchase a well-advertised brand."

[2] "Social Service of the Church," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 10:469,472.

The Red Cross movement received its inspiration from two Genevans, Henri Dunant[2] and Gustave Moynier. It is hardly necessary to add that that city was the fountainhead of Calvinism. The very first Red Cross society was established in predominantly Protestant Würtemberg[3] in 1863. The first legislation against cruelty to animals was passed in England in 1822, followed in two years by the founding of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Benjamin Waugh, a Congregational minister, established in 1844 a London Society for the prevention of cruelty to children. In the United States Henry Bergh procured authority for Episcopalian ministers to preach at least one sermon a year on cruelty and mercy to animals. He had started campaigning against cruelty to animals in 1864 and ten years later, with the assistance of Elbridge T. Gerry who also seems to have been of Protestant descent, founded the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.[1]

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[1] Willis, 1931, pp. 19-20.

[2] Gumpert, 1938, p. 19. Dunant was a business man of Calvinist persuasion.

[3] Pietism, one of the ascetic Protestant sects, was especially strong there. (Pinson, 1934, pp. 21-22.)

The Salvation Army with its union of religion and humanitarianism holds to a creed almost identical with orthodox evangelical belief. Its founder, William Booth, was solidly rooted in a Methodist background.[1] His opinion with reference to eternal punishment for the unconverted and profound pity for the outcast were coupled with a strong hatred of dirt, squalor and suffering--an admirable illustration of this chapter's thesis.[2] The Volunteers of America, an offshoot of the Salvation Army, is its less military replica.

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[1] The curious fact that societies for the protection of children appeared later than those safeguarding animals may have been no more than accidental but it may also confirm the thesis as to the prior manifestation of response in impersonal forms. Protestant theology regarded people as possible sinners and therefore dangerous to a believer's salvation (or perhaps to his imputation of salvation since salvation had been predestined)--animals presented no such danger. Catholic theology took a different view, at least as interpreted by Pope Pius IX, according to a quotation cited by Westermarck:

"Pope Pius IX refused a request for permission to form in Rome a Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals on the professed ground that it was a theological error to suppose that man owes any duty to an animal." (p. 389)

Westermarck continues:

"Indifference to animal suffering has been a characteristic of public opinion in Christian Europe up to quite modern times. In his 'Essay on Humanity to Animals,' published in 1798, Thomas Young declared he was sensible of laying himself open to no small portion of ridicule in offering to the public a book on such a subject." (p. 390)

Henry Bergh's biography by Steele, 1942, affords ample illustration of our thesis as to the relation between humanitarianism and late Protestantism. Notice, for example, pp. 2, 7-13, 15, 21, 34-35, 195, 205, 249-259 and 286-290.

Pareto casually remarks, without further explanation, that modern humanitarianism and Liberal Protestantism are "closely kindred doctrine" and that the humanitarian religion's principles express "a subjective sentiment of asceticism." (1935, vol. 2, section 1087 and vol. 3, section 1859.)

So much for humanitarianism with its universalistic component as one aspect of the frustration of affection. It is significant that the vogue of the "romantic love" pattern and the norm of affection in domestic relations in Western societies are in direct proportion to the depth of ascetic Protestant influence. Italy and France are almost wholly Catholic while German Protestantism is mainly of the Lutheran variety.[3] Whether or not romantic love occurs in these countries is not at issue, since it does. The point is that the romantic love pattern as a morally obligatory basis for marriage is not anywhere near as accepted a view as it is in ascetic Protestant influenced, largely English-speaking, societies. The difference may be put in this way: in the United States affairs of the heart must take the "head" into consideration; on the Continent it is the head which must cope with the heart's desires. What makes the difference conspicuous is that the institutionalization of this attitude took place among the "practical," "cold-blooded," "materialistic" and "shopkeeping" peoples; the "romantic" and "hot-blooded" societies which have produced the classics of love (for example, Abélard and Héloise) will have little of it as a basis for the serious business of marriage.[1] But this difference is just what, in terms of a basic personality structure deeply molded by affectional frustration, might be expected. Since the industrialization and urbanization of, for example, German society have been at least as rapid and thorough as in the United States and England, these features in themselves cannot be the occasion of this differential prominence of affection although they have provided conditions for its expression in these forms.

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[1] Westermarck mentions that among Protestants the kindest words about animals have come from Methodists and Quakers. (Op. cit., p. 389). These are among the most ascetic of Protestant sects.

[2] The high degree of rationalization in the organization of the Salvation Army and its members' disciplined renunciation of the minor pleasures of life provide striking confirmation of the relations between ascetic Protestantism, bureaucracy and humanitarianism. See Weber, 1930, pp. 108-109; and Parsons, 1937, ch. 14. This relationship will appear again with reference to Christian Science.

[3] Parsons, 1942, p. 106.

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[1] Indeed the medieval experts in the niceties of chivalric love held that it was impossible precisely in marriage--a far cry from the American position. See Linton, 1936, pp. 174-175; and Sait, 1938, p. 93. The modern heritage from the feudal nobility may possibly be detected in the phenomenon of the mistress in aristocratic Continental circles.

The growth in importance of affection has had a number of consequences one of which is the disposition to "fall in love" and to develop quick friendships with those who are interpreted as offering response.[1] However, readiness to fall out of love and friendship is evidenced, as the Jones family demonstrates, when the amount or intensity of response fails to meet the need. Repeated unhappy experiences may also create a resistance to easy friendship. The affection-frustrated personality moreover finds it difficult to give or show affection because the mechanism for its demonstration has not been learned in family life. This explanation is congruent with the findings of Burgess and Cottrell[2] as to the positive correlation between successful marriages and such factors as happily married parents, close ties with them, the presence of friends of the opposite sex prior to marriage and the number of organizations to which a person belongs. Success in social relationships is largely dependent upon sensitivity in detecting responses and skill in reacting appropriately; affection-frustrated people have not acquired facility in the latter technique even when they have become attuned to the positive and negative responses of others.

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[1] Another consequence is the canonization of women in this country as the primary source of affection. Perhaps the popularity of clubs, lodges, and secret societies in the United States should be mentioned here as a possible reflection in part of the frustration of affection. Compare Gorer, pp. 107-108.

[2] 1939, passim. Ellis's (1948) acute criticism of this and similar works does not seriously affect the present use of their data. It is significant that this correlation is due to the bias of conservative individuals, the very bias which casts doubt on the value of marriage prediction tests as a general instrument (p. 716).

From the standpoint of rationality in the allocation of scarce resources a Gresham's Law may be thought of as operating with a subconscious supply and demand schedule involving affection and governed by marginal utility considerations. The "purchase" of response with the coin of affection is "costly" when compared with its more tangible surrogates. Gifts and all sorts of attentions are not only cheap in comparison to the boon of affection but they are symbolically appropriate expressions of the emotions involved. The reverse of this situation appears in parent-child relationships where children find it difficult or impossible to show by gifts or caresses a sentiment which is lacking or only feebly present. "False" currency then is the only form of affective security and its expenditure is fraught with tension. When, however, the presentation of gifts on such occasions as anniversaries, birthdays, Mother's and Father's Day is conventional, conformance is merely formal and therefore unsatisfactory to the recipients in so far as they expect the attitude from the donor also.

It is recognized of course that economic rationality is predicated upon the conscious weighing of scarce resources as among alternative uses but something of the sort seems to occur on a subconscious level as a result of the balancing of conflicting tensions. There is indeed a reciprocal relation between emotional neutrality and economic rationality. The functional necessity for the development of a relatively high degree of affectivity among the members of a family tends to inhibit the development and scope of economic rationality applicable within the family. It may be argued that the areas open to such rationality are in inverse relation to the areas in which a kinship unit is the operating agency. It is interesting to note how naked economic rationality develops in the attitudes of members of a family as the ties constituting the family organization break down.[1]

It is psychologically understandable that persons in need of affection should be predisposed to sudden and violent attachments, "love at first sight," leading to hasty marriages. At the same time the "eye-opening" process incident to the difficulties involved in mutual adjustment and maintenance of adequate response may lead to either of two alternatives: a process of mutually stimulated antagonism culminating in rupture of the relationship, or the dependency of one or both parties on whatever affection exists may be strong enough to lead to periodic reconciliations.

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[1] Compare Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918.

Actually however there is little doubt but that marital relationships often continue without either of these alternatives appearing. The contradiction is only an apparent one because the third possibility eventuates where affection does not constitute a major criterion of married life. Where it does the importance of affection in family life reduces the chances of an otherwise tolerable existence without it.

It is the traditionalized, "sacred," agricultural society, epitomized by China and India, which stresses the overt performance of objective duties as the normatively correct basis for successful marital and family relations.[1]

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[1] Proverbs, 31:10-31, is the female domestic norm. See also Kulp, 1925; Thomas and Znaniecki, 187-128; and Embree, 1939. Japanese rural society, apparently a partial exception, proves the rule. In this traditionalized society Embree notes (p. 177) that it is the wife's duty to love her mate. The bride who comes into the family from a different community finds herself in a broken-pattern situation with all the conditions favoring her adoption of or submission to the husband's family's value-patterns. The fact that overt conformance to formal requirements is institutionalized makes the transfer easier. Here love smoothes the functioning of the patriarchal family into which the strange wife must fit. On the other hand the husband's action patterns are relatively much less disturbed and he is therefore less in need of a new object of affection; his wife is in the opposite situation and requires a protector against any hostility on the part of her husband's family. But love of the husband for the wife is rare and receives a special name. This type of affection is not only less necessary psychologically for him but would be disfunctional and constitute a threat to the all-important descent

(Continued on the following page)

Where affection is not institutionally expected its absence is not an occasion for active antagonism leading to dissolution of marriage ties. In these societies marriages arranged by parents according to criteria of family status and interest are quite feasible if not typical. The tensions arising from the ubiquitous erotic and affectional difficulties receive expression through more or less recognized secondary outlets.

Given the importance of affectional response one can understand why the old American custom of "keeping company" started when young people took over from their parents the prerogative of arranging their own marriages. The positive correlation of length of courtship and engagement with successful marriage[1] is seen to be due not only to the process whereby general cultural, social, economic and personality qualifications are matched but also, and with increasing importance, to compatibility selection on the response level. In this period the second possibility due to affectional dependency becomes important. An unusually long courtship and engagement may signify an emotional relationship strong enough to prevent breaking off but too weak for completely satisfactory response. The marriage ceremony when finally performed is no magic spell banishing the essentially unstable response pattern. The hypothesis of frustrated affection in childhood therefore seems useful in explaining both the positive correlation of fairly long courtships and engagements with successful marriages and the negative correlation when they are unusually short or prolonged. If love is the highest value in marriage its absence is ground enough for divorce. To the extent that this view is valid one may expect to find what has actually occurred in the United States: an increasing proportion and rate of marriage as well as divorce. The need for affection, in addition to other considerations, makes marriage more attractive but difficulty in meeting the need makes divorce more tempting.

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[1] (Continued from previous page) and male sibling ties of the group operating the agricultural unit. See Parsons, 1943, on this and other points.

This difference in affectional gratification helps explain in part the attraction of the Japanese peasant woman to Christian Science-like sects. See Holtom, 1938, pp. 267 ff.

[1] Burgess and Cottrell, ch. 10.

It is not entirely fortuitous that the combination of institutionalized affection, increase in marriage and in divorce should be closely associated with the small conjugal family in an urban and mobile society which regards the norm of social ascent and the achievement of the corresponding success symbols as incumbent upon all its members.[1] Should a person achieve success beyond the social status of his parents' family a variety of strains may result. Relations with the family may be curtailed for fear of revealing his lower-class origin and incurring the risk of faux pas arising from discrepancies in class conceptions of correct social behavior.[1] The range of feeling and action may run the gamut from specifically calculated self-interest through conscious and unconscious emotional conflict to unhesitating retention of family solidarity. Where the latter does not occur negative attitudes to the ascending member are not unlikely as may be gathered from the Jones case. Much the same reactions occur although different in direction when a person falls (or marries) below his original position. Given this situation the continuity or rupture of a specific family tie turns on the strength or warmth of the relations.

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[1] Merton, 1938. The ascetic Protestant origin of these norms has already been discussed.

Two aspects of affectional frustration are of interest here. To the extent that the bonds are weak, passing from one class to another is rendered less painful as regards sloughing off the family of orientation. And to the extent that the aggressive tendencies arising from frustration are directed toward achieving the symbols of success, vertical mobility becomes more likely, provided the social structure is such as to permit it.[1] The difficulty in attaining the delicate balance between deficiency and excess of affection necessary for the optimum of psychic security accounts, partially at least, for the prevalence of emotional immaturity (from the viewpoint of Western, not, for example, from that of Zuni culture) in the "neurotic personality of our time."[2]

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[1] Compare Davis and Dollard, 1940, ch. 5; and Warner and Lunt, 1941. The appurtenances of conformance by aspiring members may acquire paramagical functions if they are subject to psychic insecurity, ego ascendancy, and status striving. See Rosow, 1948, especially tables 2, 3, and 4 for Group A.

The fact of passing from one class to another with its associated reactions is but one aspect of a wider phenomenon in American society. The establishment of a separate class status is forced upon an adult male when he leaves his family of orientation. The compulsion of the norm of social ascent in the competitive process of occupational achievement cannot but create tensions disruptive of family solidarity if more than one adult is responsible for the family status. Given the sociological importance of the family as a socializing and status-positioning unit the extended "familistic" group of colonial and other eras has evolved in the direction of the contemporary immediate conjugal family as best fitted to minimize the strains due to rivalry.

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[1] The converse of this statement has an interesting implication. The crystallization of American class structure would be facilitated by more satisfactory affectional relations through the elimination of one source of tension. See the discussion above of the American lower- and middle-class Negro. Too much weight may not be attached to this factor, however, because of the application of the norm of success to all members of the society.

[2] Horney, 1937.

The shunting of the wife into the non-occupationally competitive sphere has had the effect of eliminating her from competition with her husband for the position of status-determinant,[1] thereby preserving family solidarity and, as a by-product, leaving her open to hypochondriac preoccupations. Since more than a few children are apt to be a hindrance to the maintenance and improvement of the urban parents' and their children's status, to say nothing of interference with the amenities and conveniences of living, the limitation of family size has produced the small middle-class urban family of the present. Besides furthering perhaps the intensity of affection by reducing the number of its objects,[2] the small family finds itself less exposed to the chances of frustration associated with ascending and descending members. Parents find it easier on the whole to "place" one or two children in their own or a superior class status by providing the training or graces which will allow them to assume or strive for a higher class status.

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[1] Parsons, 1942. It is not only the male's basis of status (rooted in the occupational structure and judged by universalistic criteria) that frequently causes trouble when he marries a wealthy wife and lives on a scale above his earning capacity. The cultural and psychological opposition to this situation stems in good part from the ascetic Protestant-derived pattern of conditioned love which is earned by striving for goals according to some legitimate means. (The wealthy playboy is not an object of undiluted admiration. There is a compulsion to "go into business" or do something useful even where, objectively, there is no economic necessity.) In addition the romantic love pattern enters into and affects this type of marriage because the mates must feel assured that money was not the true reason for marriage.

[2] The concentration of affection upon a few children and its strong evaluation create the possibility and, in varying degrees, often the materialization of "excessive" love for and clinging to the child, a condition which may result in a lack of discipline, responsibility and emotional maturity which are atypical of and yet derived from ascetic Protestantism.

With a geographically and socially mobile population and the anonymity and impersonality of urban life there remains but one relationship sanctioned by powerful norms wherein the need for response can be met with any degree of certainty.[1] Indeed with the elimination of many of the traditional functions of the family the institutionalization of affection appears to be an eminently ingenious solution for the family's preservation, granted the present social structure. The heightening of the stress upon love, its acceptance as the only proper basis for marriage and the tendency to fall in love serve to overcome rational consideration of the disabilities and the magnitude of the responsibilities and risks attached to marriage. It should not be imagined that everyone actually experiences the grand passion. Rather is the case like that of the standardized dream supposed to occur to the initiate in many a nonliterate _rite de passage_: those who do not have the dream assert, and perhaps manage to convince themselves, that they have. Perhaps the greatest advantage accruing to a married pair is the very substantial increase in the legitimized certainty of affectional and erotic response. In short, modern society's functionally necessary emphasis upon universalism and affective neutrality[1] has been mitigated in one direction by the importance of affectivity within the family and in another by the rise of a rationalized humanitarianism.[2]

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[1] The functional importance of response for the American people helps explain the exaggerated notion of romantic love in the United States, the reluctance about drafting fathers and teenagers into the army, the rapid disintegration of the latter after the enemy has been conquered, and the strong sentiment against universal military training in peacetime. Incidentally, the importance of response in the family is a potent factor in undermining the authority of the father--in addition to the element stressed by Gorer. A major weakness of his book is the exclusion from consideration of the influence of Protestanism on the American character.

The concentration of affection upon the immediate family as it is known today creates a situation with difficulties of its own. Congruent with the demands of the social structure, cultural patterns require of the young adult a drastic shift in the locus of affection and obligation from parents and siblings to mate and children, as well as from economic and emotional dependency to financial and affective maturity. This tends to shut the parents out from their married children's affection and attention. But since love is required as the main content of the filial relationship this devaluation of the parents entails emotional repercussions. The "stage of the empty nest"[1] is a poignant one and has expressed its isolation in a variety of old age movements and religious cults.[2] It is not surprising that Southern California which is noted for both is the haven par excellence of the retired and rootless aged. The economic background of Ham 'n Eggs, the Townsend Plan, and pension schemes for "senior citizens" is not of course thereby denied.[3]

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[1] Parsons, 1939.

[2] The validity of this statement is circumscribed by the fact that the discussion has dealt primarily with a society deeply influenced by ascetic Protestantism.

If these phenomena may be interpreted as the result of parental frustration signs of guilt feelings may be expected on the part of their children also. The portrait by Whistler[4] depicts an old and presumably widowed mother, surely the most desolate figure in the social structure. The same context adds significance to Mother's Day, first celebrated in 1910, nationally proclaimed as such four years later and becoming sentimentally important in the period of disorganization shortly after the first World War. The absence of a father stereotype parallel to that of the mother and the rather perfunctory nature of Father's Day confirm this interpretation because not only is the father institutionally defined as economically self-sufficient but the cultural pattern stresses affection for the mother more than for the father. In addition there is the longer and more intimate contact between mother and child. The guilt feelings consequent upon the extrusion of the mother from the center of affection should therefore be greater and has in fact been manifested more prominently.[1]

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[1] Waller, 1938, p. 32.

[2] This relation throws a meaningful light on the rather high proportion of elderly people in Christian Science reading rooms as well as the function of this religion for its adherents.

[3] See Parsons, 1942.

[4] Idem.

Support for the sociologically induced nature of affectional frustration may be sought in another direction. Insurance company advertising of the advantages of financially independent retirement[2] in old age normally shows the old or relatively old father and mother without picturing their presumably married offspring. If the latter are presented it is only as guests or hosts for a temporary visit. The usual age for parental retirement on an annuity as described in the copy or portrayed in the accompanying illustration is, significantly, a youthful-looking[1] fifty-five to sixty for the middle classes at which these appeals are aimed. It is precisely among these classes that the isolation of the parents is most likely due to the stresses on the norm of social ascent. It is at about this period that the birth cycle has come full swing in the middle classes with the married children's affections most sharply focused on their own families and their energies concentrated upon the maintenance and improvement of social status.

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[1] Commercialization of these sentiments does not explain their origin; it simply takes advantage of their presence. Gifts to father are as profitable to the merchant and as eagerly sought after as those to mother.

[2] This is a notion greatly at variance with the usual picture of the American business man who thought of retirement as sinful and promptly began ailing or dying when it occurred. This shift testifies to the deep-lying changes taking place in the basic personality and social structure.

IV. ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM AND GAMBLING

The analysis of ascetic Protestantism has laid great weight on a pronounced tendency toward the inhibition of emotion which in turn is closely associated with the earning of rewards (including response, monetary returns, etc.) according to impersonal and universalistic standards of achievement. It seems reasonable to expect that persons of this type should have imbedded in them, as a result of their experience, a feeling of repugnance and uneasiness toward unearned gains, a feeling which might be expressed in doubts as to their moral legitimacy.[1]

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[1] The "accent on youth" in the United States is undoubtedly a complex phenomenon. Perhaps the two most important elements in it are the attraction for the adult of a period when life was without heavy responsibilities, while its "superior organic propensities" are an advantage in the competitive struggle for rewards based upon accomplishment. The natural vitality of youth is most congenial to the ascetic Protestant personality with its own emphasis on dynamism and evaluation according to objective and universalistic standards. See Kingsley Davis, 1940, and compare Gorer, pp. 121-123.

It would seem logical then to inquire into the reactions of Protestantism to gambling with the expectation that it should be condemned. Yet we find lotteries defended by

> . . . the first writer who maintained that even lotteries are governed by purely natural laws [and who] was [also] a Puritan minister, Thomas Gataker, in his curious little book, On the Nature and Use of Different Kinds of Lots (London, 1619).[2]

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[1] But it is also understandable why individuals of this type should react with more than ordinary gratification when meeting with unexpected and unearned good fortune.

[2] Merton, 1938, p. 468, note 70. The Protestant stress on knowable, calculable and useable natural law will be referred to later when certain aspects of Christian Science are discussed. Here it may be noted that this conception of law is intimately related to the individual Protestant's experience as a child that recognition, response, and remuneration are earned and can be legitimately counted on when he conforms to known standards for achieving them. But countering this factor is the uncertainty situation which makes for dependence on and belief in various nonlogical entities. The resort to fortunetellers, horoscopes, etc. by business men and others engaged in hazardous occupations has been mentioned, as well as the interest that both management and labor have in understanding and controlling the situation in which they find themselves. When this knowledge and control are inadequate the belief in luck, fate, etc. and an addiction to gambling are frequent occurrences. See Merton, 1949, p. 139, and the notes on p. 380 (26, 28, and 29).

But examination of this work provides a solution for this unexpected position. In his introduction, "To the Reader," Gataker defends his writing of the book and carefully assures his readers that the limits he sets out will be within "the bounds of Piety, of Sobriety, of Equity, and of Charity. . . ." and that the consciences of the godly must not be disturbed if his book should be misused by a dissolute few. The implication is that the Puritan society of the day was opposed to gambling and Gataker had to be careful not to give the appearance of condoning it.

A lot is defined as "a casualty or casuall event purposely applied to the deciding of some doubt" (p. 2). Casualty and chance are synonymous. They are necessarily excluded from the categories of certainty, foresight and forecast (p. 11) and have no bearing upon the actor's skill or knowledge relating to the casual or chance event (p. 12). Yet the use of lots in games of recreation, including card games, is legitimate (ch. 6); recreation is a legitimate end and games involving lots are a legitimate means to it (pp. 180-181).

> Lusorious lots [dice, cards, etc.] therefore, as all other recreations, are to be used soberly, reasonably, ingenuously, inoffensively, prudently, and religiously" (p. 236)

Play is to be for pleasure, not profit, for game not gaine (p. 251).

> A man may pray for his recreations, that he may cary himselfe soberly and without offence

> in them, and that even by them he may be the better fitted for better things. . . . (p. 260)

But

> . . . mispending his time, or wasting his estate at them [games involving lusorious lots]

is to be avoided. (p. 262)

The general permissive condition for "lots" is that they be used for recreation and for stakes so small in proportion to the player's wealth that loss will not cause anxiety, nor gain constitute a source of unearned income that will be more than trifling. In other words inspection of Gataker's book reveals two ascetic Protestant value-attitudes; affective neutrality and earned rewards. Both of these are integrated in the penultimate value-attitude of emotionally and ethically disciplined conduct oriented to disinterested devotion to secular activity.

These sentiments beneath a Calvinistic work are also found among another Protestant sect, the Quakers. There is one reason common to all those given for the Quaker prohibition of dancing, music, reading of novels, the theatre, games of chance and games of skill associated with chance (cards, dice, horse-racing, etc.), lotteries and hunting; these pursuits all tend in varying degrees to agitate the emotions, to upset tranquility of mind; they tend to be morally harmful.[1]

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[1] Clarkson, 1806, vol. 1, passim.

Buying and selling on the stock market are permitted if the object is to acquire better security or more permanent advantages. But buying and selling, week after week, upon speculation, would be gambling with money as the object and the issue hazardous. This is a threat to peace of mind and therefore illegitimate.[1] Note the combination of sober rationality and calculability with emotional control. Indeed "Luck, chance, or fortune, are allowed by the Quakers to have no power in the settlement of human affairs."[2] The stress is uniformly upon the deliberate control of all action with a view to moral improvement. The dislike of emotion is such as to cause the avoidance of political discussion as it irritates people "and makes them warm."[3]

It is not intended to convey the impression that the traits presented above were uniformly distributed in the ascetic Protestant culture area throughout its existence. Far from it; the personality type was complex and constantly in the process of development. But there can be discerned in this process a strain toward this kind of attitude and behavior. One writer observes that the early 1800's in New England were heavily loaded with "moral degeneracy," with gambling and heavy consumption of liquor at religious meetings. Colleges and churches profited by lotteries. But the New England clergy denounced gambling and instigated temperance movements as early as 1808; by 1860 no school or church resorted to the lottery.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 41. For the same reason small but certain profits are preferable to "hazardous enterprises" in trade which are apt to disturb tranquility (vol. 2, pp. 49-50). It should be noted that an accurate appraisal of the Protestant attitude requires that a distinction be made between gambling per se and sober calculation of risks and probabilities, whether in poker, the stock market, or business. The element of rational calculation is decisive.

[2] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 295; compare the Christian Science attitude discussed in a subsequent chapter.

[3] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 333.

> The ground for the Puritan objection to card games and dice-throwing was not primarily that these pastimes were sinful because enjoyable or that they wasted men's estates--though this was a secondary consideration--but that they prostituted divine providence to unworthy ends. Lotteries are appeals to providence, said Increase Mather, and so they "may not be used in trivial matters." God determines the cast of the dice or the shuffle of the cards, and we are not to implicate His providence in frivolity. It was a symptom of the waning of piety in the eighteenth century that the colony engineered lotteries, with clerical blessing, for the benefit of Harvard College; . . .[2]

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[1] Riegler, 1945, ch. 3.

[2] Miller, 1939, pp. 15-16. The idea of using God for man's empirical ends was offensive to Puritan sensibilities; the development of this conception is intimately concerned with the appearance of Christian Science. But what is of more immediate interest in this quotation is the underlying sentiment which is opposed to appeals to providence because in gambling there is no control by the actor of the determinant factors affecting the outcome--if the game is honest. The Puritan preferred to be in full control of his emotions and was suspicious of any threats to tranquility.

The position of Catholicism on gambling is different although some of its reasons against it are similar to those of Protestantism.

> In *our* middle-class society gambling is a disreputable activity. In Italy, as in many European countries, gambling is taken for granted, and the state promotes its own lotteries. Protestants tend to identify law and morality and therefore to consider illegal acts as immoral. The Catholic church makes no such identification. Gambling is a temporal matter. The State has the right to forbid it, but the legal prohibition does not make it immoral. According to the church, gambling is immoral only when the gambler cheats, uses money which is not his own, or deprives his dependents of what is needed for their maintenance. Recognizing that it often involves such deprivation and that it tends to be associated with immoral activities, the church looks with suspicion upon gambling; but that is quite different from an outright moral ban.[1]

It may be doubted that the Protestant evaluation of gambling is premised upon its illegality. The Protestant churches are usually opposed to gambling regardless of its legality or illegality in a given area; church lotteries and bingo games have come to be identified largely with non-Protestant churches. It is noteworthy that according to Whyte's description the Catholic church accepts the unearned increment as neutral, if not legitimate, where Protestantism tends to condemn it.

This animus of the Protestant churches against gambling is still potent.

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[1] Whyte, 1943, p. 140; italics added.

> The conferees [for the revision of New Jersey's century old constitution] at one time headed into a dead-end street on the matter of gambling. Horse racing is permitted under the present constitution. Advocates of bingo games which are sponsored by churches, veterans' groups, and others attempted to get the new constitution to liberalize gambling laws. On the other side, Protestant churches led the fight against any form of gambling. The issue, which threatened to stall proceedings, was settled by agreement that horse racing might stay "as is" but that no other form of gambling might be legalized without specific approval by the people.[1]
>
> The attempt of the New York City Council to set up a municipal lottery to raise money for city expenses has been strongly opposed by Protestant groups and religious leaders here. . . .
>
> *Lotteries also are 'morally wrong,' because they appear to offer the individual something for practically nothing, or at least hold out hope of a return utterly disproportionate to any effort or investment on his part*, Dr. Searle [a prominent Protestant] said.[2]

Here the ascetic Protestant moral position is unambiguously set out and it has nothing to do with the legality or illegality of gambling. Something for nothing, something unearned, flies in the face of Protestant propriety; it contradicts that development of the predestination decree whereby it came to be believed that it was necessary to *earn* the *signs* of election to God's favor, salvation, by disciplined moral behavior *exerted* in behalf of the establishment of God's Kingdom on Earth. And parallel to this earning of rewards on the theological level is the *conditioning* of love on the basis of *striving* for legitimate ends through normatively approved means, among which gambling is *not* included.[1]

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[1] Hallett, *Christian Science Monitor*, September 15, 1947, p. 9.

[2] *Christian Science Monitor*, January 29, 1948, p. 5; italics added.

V. ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM AND THE ONE-PRICE SYSTEM'S ORIGIN

> Have communion with few; be intimate with One,
> Deal justly with all, speak evil of none.

Here, in classical simplicity, is displayed that suspicion of others, that self-dependence of the individual who, to avoid disappointment, reduces to a minimum his social relationships, who goes out of mornings among people as into a world of dangers--here is that feeling which was common to all the ascetic Protestant denominations without exception.[1] In addition and important is the admonition to "deal justly with all"--universalism. The sociologically significant point here is not the preachment which is common to many societies but the psychosocial conditions which lent weight to its internalization, the consistent response for conformance and disapproval for nonconformance.

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[1] That Judaism puts no insuperable obstacle in the way of gambling may be inferred from the following:

"A national lottery in Israel to sell government bonds which pay no interest has attracted widespread attention here [Washington]. Treasury Department insiders have expressed amazement at the lottery which is rapidly draining inflation money in Israel. The Israeli plan is being observed by congressmen, some of whom have for years advocated public lotteries to stimulate bond sales.

"The Israeli lottery drive for $10,500,000 in bond sales is almost subscribed although the campaign began only March 1. The bonds sell for $60, redeemable after one year in cash. Six hundred cash prizes and an annual jackpot of $30,000 are tax free. Other bonds sold to make up the rest of the total national bond issue of $40,500,000 bear 3 1/2% interest but offer no chance on the lottery. *Their sale has been slow by comparison*." (Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch, April 15, 1949, in *The California Jewish Voice*), italics supplied.

The significance of this suspicion, this attitude to the "world" as an arena, is not adequately grasped until it is realized that for the ascetic Protestant the world of secular activity, which for all practical purposes meant the world of business activities, had been transformed into an arena for the expression of his religious impulses. It was with deadly seriousness that he engaged in business because he had to prove, to himself and others that he was "saved." But association with sinners was dangerous; yet he had to deal with them in business. Business success was a sign of God's favor, the greater the success the greater the favor and the more certain the feeling of inclusion among the elect. The impulse to maximize profit upon each transaction was strengthened yet this principle aggravated the suspicion in which people held each other. On the other hand God demanded strict honesty and justice toward all men. The weakening of emotional ties among men, the very suspicion attached to emotional expression, enlarged the field in which people could be rationally manipulated for self-interested purposes. Awareness of this condition also helped bolster mutual suspicion. Furthermore, to the degree that money was a surrogate for affectional response and parting with it fraught with anxiety, its expenditure would involve suspicion of those with whom one had business dealings. In this situation anxiety about being cheated, "double-crossed," would be heightened, and not the less by the belief that some definite but unknown number of souls were predestined to salvation. The upshot that might be expected and which came about was the development of sharp, shrewd, hard-driving bargaining--within the legal and moral limits expected by a moral God who demanded even-handed justice.

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[1] Weber, 1930, pp. 222-223, note 25.

But bargaining exposed the participants to another danger which attacked the ascetic Protestant at a particularly vulnerable point; haggling in the market disturbs the emotions. For the relatively helpless, unorganized consumer who confronts the retailer this situation can be galling. The situation is less disturbing for the retailer in relation to his suppliers because he is better able to take care of himself. However, the retailer is dependent upon the good will of his customers whose suspicions cannot be pushed too far without forfeiting his trade to competitors. Indeed both retailer and customer are involved in a situation which subjects them to two kinds of anxiety and suspicion. The merchant cannot afford to be consistently undersold. The converse of this is that the customer resents being overcharged, overcharged, that is, relative to the prices of other merchants. But what is perhaps even more generative of ill feeling is the suspicion that the same merchant sells the same item for different prices to different customers. It is a relatively simple matter to avoid paying more by patronizing someone who openly sells for less; and there is no call for injured pride if the higher-priced retailer treats all alike. But if he treats his patrons differentially it is another matter. Isn't my money as good as anyone else's? Is so-and-so any better than I am? Why should he pay less than I? I've been trading with Mr. Smith as long as anybody and yet he overcharges me! Why should I pay more just because I don't like to or can't drive a hard bargain? For the ascetic Protestant this situation is rendered much more disturbing because differential commercial treatment is subject to interpretation in terms of affectional response: if he charges me more then he doesn't like me, or likes me less than someone else. Moreover, the ascetic Protestant finds this interpretation more difficult to sustain because he has learned to associate response and recognition with conformance to valued principles and achievement and because he has been stripped of much of his particularistic response ties; even among his kinfolk he can depend upon affection when he earns it and, hence, values it all the more. This isolation amounts to a weakening of the in-group cohesion which tends to protect members against "gouging," a practice ordinarily considered legitimate against outsiders. Secret differential favoring of customers is a practice that merchants find it hard to meet. It exposes them to pressures from customers who claim that so-and-so charges less with the result that the customer whipsaws one merchant against another, often without either knowing what is going on. Thus hostility between them can be induced and maintained.

The congenital suspicion of emotional entanglements tends to render the Protestant retailer wary of developing stronger ties with some of his customers, a relationship which might be made the basis of expectations for differential treatment. Experience during World War II is illuminating. The reservation of scarce goods for favored customers angered more people who felt themselves slighted and probably cost the merchant more in good will in the long run than his immediate profit warranted.

If this analysis of the merchant-customer relationship in ascetic Protestant society is correct then the probabilities are that the discovery or invention of any practice which promised to solve the problems inherent in that relationship would be welcomed and institutionalized. It is of course true that these problems are not exclusive to Protestantism, that they are inherent in the buying and selling relation. But if Protestantism created a personality of the type this chapter has described and its reaction to differential treatment is logically (and with psychological correctness) deduced, then the pressures making for the discovery and adoption of some solution must have been greater in Protestant society. Equally logical is the deduction that the solution must be congruent with the psychological predispositions, experience, and ideals of the ascetic Protestant. Given the anxiety about emotional response and the distrust of others generated by ascetic Protestantism's dogmas, a mechanism in which people could trust was a desideratum in order to maintain the necessary minimal functioning of the social system. The one-price system as an embodiment of impersonal and universalistic principles met this requirement very satisfactorily.[1]

It is a truism that from infancy onward individuals meet with the possibility and actuality of disappointment and deception in the fulfillment of expectations in regard to response, recognition, hedonic, and other satisfactions. If the expectations come to be defined as legitimate such deceptions are frauds. Naturally there are differences in the absolute and relative number of fraudulent disappointments in different families. But it seems reasonable to expect a significant reduction in childhood frauds if there has been established a pattern which legitimizes expecting and receiving satisfactions in return for behavior conforming to objective standards. The conditioned love pattern is just such a pattern. It provides the optimum condition for minimizing disappointment of legitimate expectations, and for legitimizing the expectation of uniform receipts in proportion to what is rendered. This pattern when applied within the family requires equal treatment for equal services, that is, equality or impartiality of affection among offspring, with anxiety augmented should deviations from this standard occur.[1]

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[1] The argument may be generalized as follows: "Too high a level of anxiety makes it impossible for an individual to trust others to the degree which is essential for effective social co-operation, while too much aggression leads people to destroy or gravely subvert the bases of social relations." (Talcott Parsons, in a review of Kluckhohn's *Navaho Witchcraft*, *American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (May, 1946), 566-569.

On the other hand, the unconditioned love pattern and that in which there is someone who intercedes for the forgiveness of deserved punishment or who obtains unmerited satisfactions in behalf of a child, are unlikely to encourage the development _as a native phenomenon_ of a practice based on impersonal and universalistic standards. It is obvious of course that behavior of the unconditioned and intercessor types may be found, probably, in all societies. But to the degree that the conditioned love pattern is _institutionalized_ the other kinds of behavior, institutionalized or not, are minimized. In Lutheran Protestant and Catholic societies the conditioned love pattern is nowhere near as deeply rooted as in ascetic Protestant societies. There is reason to believe, as discussion below will indicate, that the intercessor pattern is prominent informally in Lutheran and Catholic family life, with the pattern strongly re-enforced in Catholic culture areas by the institutionalization of that pattern in the religious sphere. The conditioned love pattern approximates the direct man-God relation in ascetic Protestant dogma, while the intercessor pattern duplicates the man-'intermediary-church'-God relation of Catholic teaching. To the extent then that religious doctrine influences secular behavior, the probabilities are against the _indigenous_ development by Catholicism[1] of the

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[1] This attitude is strongly in evidence among American middle-class people and has long been characteristic of certain Protestant sects.

"In making their wills, for example, they [Quakers] are not apt to raise up an eldest son to the detriment of the rest of their offspring. . . .

"Happy is it for their own comfort and the welfare of their families, that they give this proof to the world of this equal affection for their children." (Clarkson, 1806, vol. 3, pp. 231-232.) Clarkson was a Protestant but not a Quaker.

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[1] The effect of Lutheranism would be more indirect since the man-God relation is without the intermediary. The major influence in the present context against the independent creation of a one-price system would be the _sporadic_ protection of (Continued on the following page)

[1] (Continued from previous page)
the child against the more or less arbitrary coercion of the father through the mother's intervention. The differential importance of the mother in ascetic Protestant, Lutheran, and Catholic family life is paralleled in the religious sphere: There is in the last the prominence of the worship of the Virgin Mary as intercessor with Jesus and God; in the two Protestant faiths she is virtually of no importance in this respect. But whereas in Lutheranism man can do nothing but obey orders, trust in God and express his frustration in emotional outbursts while bowing to the traditional order, the ascetic Protestant relies on the strict rules of justice which supports him against all arbitrary authority without the need of intercessor and appeal to the vagaries of capricious will.

It is believed that it is this difference in patterns of doctrine and rearing which lies beneath the difference in attitude of these three faiths toward capitalism.

"The typical antipathy of Catholic ethics, and following that the Lutheran, to every capitalistic tendency, rests essentially on the repugnance of the impersonality of relations within a capitalist economy. It is this fact of impersonal relations which places certain human affairs outside the church and its influence, and prevents the latter from penetrating them and transforming them along ethical lines. The relation between master and slave could be subjected to immediate ethical regulation; but the relations between mortgage creditor and the property which was pledged for debt, or between an endorser and the bill of exchange, would at least be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible to moralize." (Weber, 1927, pp. 357-358.)

In other words Catholicism failed to penetrate the personality as did ascetic Protestantism through the pattern of family relationships so as to create a personality formed by and oriented to impersonal and universalistic norms. While Catholicism proclaims them on the cognitive level as essential parts of its doctrine, they are not as thoroughly internalized as they might otherwise be because of the particularistic-emotional intercessor relation between man and God, child and parents. If impersonal and universalistic principles cannot be depended upon in human relations then the only alternative short of chaos is the reliance upon the quality of relations between particular individuals, one type being the loyalty implicit in feudalism.

The possibility of the one-price system's origin from Jewish sources is, apart from the Jew's minority position, rendered questionable by the implications of the popular expression for trying to reduce prices by haggling: "to jew a man down." This phrase manifests at one and the same time the

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one-price system.

There can be little doubt that the one-price system was (and is) extraordinarily well adapted to the solution of the psychological and ethical problems of the customer and the merchant exacerbated as they were by ascetic Protestantism. Once established the demonstration of its functional utility would be sufficient for its adoption wherever the transaction of a large number of retail sales occurred. Nor were the advantages relative to rational accounting and planning to be

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depth of the animus against haggling (the word itself has an unfavorable connotation in part because it threatens the Protestant's emotional "security system" to which the one-price system contributes) and the strength of the institution which prohibits it. It may be noted that Protestant anti-Semitism is partially motivated by uneasiness in the presence of and repugnance toward the emotionality associated with haggling; it derives from the contrast and friction between emotionally inhibited and expressive peoples. For the "fear of fraud" in an exchange process regulated by universalistic standards compare Ichheiser, 1944.

Comparison of the Scotsman and the Jew is of interest here, since both are famed for appreciating the value of money. "I can get it for you wholesale," is popularly associated with the latter. It is a striking fact that although few if any would pass up an opportunity of this sort, there is a faint aura of disapproval about it; there is an implication of affectively motivated evasion of impersonal and universalistic standards. (There is no such phrase as "to scotch a man down".) Conformance to these norms is more likely when they are inculcated during a childhood molded by inhibition of emotion and conditioned love. Affective encroachments upon this type of standard are more readily avoided so that, for example, nepotism is less likely. There is less of a compulsion upon the ascetic Protestant storekeeper to give discounts to friends; here too there is a functional separation between private and occupational spheres.

ignored. But these obvious advantages for a commercial situation common to Protestant and non-Protestant societies and groups accentuate the failure of the latter to invent this solution and corroborate the theoretical expectations.

The ethical proving of actual and prospective members by the ascetic Protestant sects was directed toward conformance with impersonal and universal norms in business and other relations. The one-price system, was, along with honesty, credit maintenance, etc. a concrete manifestation of such norms. Since businessmen and consumers alike were the "jurors" their interest in maintaining the standards tended to exclude those who deviated from the norms. The prospective members, furthermore, had direct financial motives for admittance since their credit rating and favor with the public were enhanced. It is true that this crucial feature of admission to the sect was of fundamental importance as a method of discipline for maintaining a given ethical standard[1] but the origin of this standard is not adequately explained until it is related to the psychological, theological, and ethical problems of the ascetic Protestant and shown how they were solved on an impersonal and universalistic basis.[2]

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[1] Weber, 1927, pp. 366-367.

[2] Functionally the development of these principles among ascetic Protestants is close to if not identical with the

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Empirical evidence as to the origin of the one-price system among the Protestant sects corroborates theoretical expectations. Weber points out that especially among the Quakers and Baptists, up through the seventeenth century, there were repeated expressions of satisfaction that the "children of the world" preferred to rely on the religiously conditioned integrity of the pious. The latter would be extended credit, money would be deposited with them, and trade seek them out because of their policy of fixed prices.[1] Clarkson's remarks are to the point.

> If it be charged against the Quakers, that they are eager in pursuit of wealth, let it at

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[2] (Continued from the previous page) institutionalization of impersonality and universalism in the medical role. Where these are inadequate or the patient has no confidence in the physician's disinterest the former has little to fall back upon other than appeals to friendship, pity, mutual friends, etc., that is, particularism substitutes for universalism, affectivity for impersonality, disinterest for self-interest or what is feared to be self-interest. Given the patient-under-strain situation and his need for medical care the medical role-elements, universalism, impersonality, disinterest, etc., institutionalized in the professional code constitute a psychologically and sociologically functional solution. The same is true of the one-price system with its impersonality and universalism vis-à-vis mutually suspicious ascetic Protestants; the latter invented it because their need for some such protective code was greater and their religious beliefs contained the necessary standards. The fact that the one-price policy "paid off" suggests that the customers and the merchants had their anxieties set at rest.

[1] Weber, 1922, vol. 1, pp. 218-219. He does not refer to the latent mutual suspicions of the pious which such integrity allayed, although their "inner isolation" might, perhaps, be so interpreted.

> least be mentioned in their favor that, in their accumulation of it, they have been careful not to suffer their knowledge to take advantage of the ignorance of others. . . .

It was required of them

> . . . , that they should be particularly attentive to their words, and to the punctual performance of their engagements, and on no account delay their payments beyond the time they promised. . . .
>
> One of the great clamours raised against them, in the infancy of their institution, was, that they would get all the trade. It was nothing but their great honour in their dealings, arising from religious principles, that gave birth to this uproar, or secured them a more than ordinary portion of the custom of the world in the line of their respective trades.[1]
>
> But it was not only in matters which related to the laws of the land, where the early Quakers held their words and engagements sacred. This trait was remarked to be true of them in their concerns in trade. In their first appearance as a society, they suffered as tradesmen, because others, displeased with the peculiarity of their manners, withdrew their custom from their shops. But in a little time, the great outcry against them was, that they got the trade of the country in their hands. This outcry arose in part from a strict execution of all commercial appointments between them and others, and because they never asked two prices for the commodities they sold.[2]

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[1] Clarkson, 1806, vol. 2, p. 40; italics added, and pp. 50-51. But if, despite all this, bankruptcy should occur the Quaker had to treat all his creditors alike (p. 52). It may be argued that this result of the one-price system gave its practitioners a competitive advantage until it was forced thereby upon other tradesmen.

[2] Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 191-192. Weber cites an almost identical passage from the third (1867) edition (London) of

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The psychological importance of the one-price system as security against differential exploitation due to its impersonal and universalistic pattern explains a contemporary phenomenon which has caught the attention of Fortune magazine:

> Fair-trade laws, Doc [Webb] argues, actually promote unfair trade, and protect manufacturers and distributors at the expense of the consumers. His point is well taken. It is a peculiar commentary on the U.S. [sic] mentality that while Americans perpetually fret about price fixing at the manufacturing level, they see nothing suspicious in enforced uniform pricing at the retail level. Outraged public opinion last summer precipitated a series of witch-hunt "investigations" into the cause of high prices, but Doc Webb down in St. Petersburg was legally restrained from lowering many of his.[1]

Whatever the economic cost to the consumer, the psychological importance of price uniformity to the vast majority of the public at the retail level is such as to induce acquiescence in the practice. The congenital American distrust of power and its concentration vents itself in less psychologically vulnerable areas further up the chain of distribution and

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[2] (Continued from previous page) this work in his Religionssoziologie, vol. 1, p. 219, note 1. However, this third London edition as well as the first which was published about 1830 are antedated by what seems to be a similar three-volume work with a different title which I have quoted (published in New York in 1806) and one published in 1807 in London. In the latter work Clarkson states that this trait, the one-price system, was carried by the Quakers to America in their relations with the Indians (vol. 3, p. 226).

[1] "Webb's City," Fortune, January, 1948, pp. 93 ff.; pp. 127-128.

manufacture.

The description and analysis of ascetic Protestant personality and normative patterns demonstrate their close resemblance to Piaget's type of autonomous morality with respect to ethical universalism and emotional discipline. The task of the remainder of the study will be to understand the relation of Mary Baker Eddy as a personality and of Christian Science as a religious movement to the complex of facts set out in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

MARY BAKER EDDY

In the previous chapter it was noted that affective insecurity could lead to the development of those surrogates for affectional security which constitute the ascetic Protestant basic personality type. The combination of such traits as honesty, respect for property rights, interest in money, its prudent management and accumulation, punctuality, orderliness and cleanliness, self-control, affective neutrality, intellectual interests, application to a career and social climbing, was looked upon as a functional solution on the level of personality to the strain created by the frustration of affectional response in the sphere of social relations. But if these characteristics may be interpreted as by-products of an attempt to secure response, it does not mean that alternative means are unavailable. From childhood on it is recognized that ends may be achieved, if circumstances permit, by imposing one's will without consideration for others. Emotional insecurity may assume manifold expressions and combinations of the exchange and the coercive aspects of human relationships.

One of the central problems of this study is to determine whether or not Christian Scientists display those characteristics which have been shown to constitute the ascetic Protestant personality type. The fundamental if not exclusive importance of Mary Baker Eddy as the founder and moving spirit in the development of the Christian Science movement, its beliefs and organization requires a close scrutiny of her career and behavior patterns. Since it must be granted that for all practical purposes she alone was responsible for the propagation of the ideas now constituting Christian Science, the possibility arises that there is some connection between Mrs. Eddy's personality and the ideas she popularized among her followers. If it is shown that her conduct exhibits many if not all the traits referred to above then it may be taken as proved that she was a representative of the ascetic Protestant type--apart from the fact that she was reared in a purely ascetic Protestant home.

It will be shown that in important respects Mrs. Eddy embodied an extreme development of certain ascetic Protestant traits on the psychological level. She may be looked upon as a concrete realization of those characteristics which have been abstracted to synthesize the ideal type of the ascetic Protestant. She is in effect an ideal type in action and as such affords the observer an opportunity to study the functional relation between the psychological tensions and needs and the ideas evolved by this personality. If the personality integrating function of Christian Science conceptions for Mrs. Eddy is demonstrated, it is logical to infer that in varying degrees these ideas perform a similar function for her followers.

Furthermore, and this is a deduction which will be tested in a subsequent chapter, it may be expected that Christian Science will have succeeded in establishing itself more or less firmly in societies whose members have been more or less influenced by ascetic Protestantism.

Any attempt to describe and interpret objectively so controversial a figure as the founder of Christian Science will find it difficult if not impossible to avoid entanglement in the charges and countercharges that have whirled about her. Let it be understood at the outset that the objectives of this study call for no judgment as to whether or not Mrs. Eddy was well or poorly educated; suffered from paranoia; was indebted in whole or part or not at all to Phineas P. Quimby for the ideas central to her doctrine; whether her English was marked by nobility and originality of style[1] or was such as to require extensive editing. It is of no concern for this study whether or not Mrs. Eddy wore glasses, patronized dentists or resorted to narcotics to assuage attacks of gallstones and renal calculi. Finally, except in a restricted sense which will be explained later, the accuracy of claims which Mrs. Eddy and her followers have advanced with regard to the cure of specific cases of functional and organic ailments does not come within the purview of the present study. Wherever possible citations of fact will be made from books "authorized" by the Christian Science movement. Since works of this type tend to stress what Christian Scientists believe are "favorable" to her character and memory and omit or negate "unfavorable" incidents and characteristics, reference must be had to authors who are more critical. Normative evaluations whether positive or negative will be eliminated in favor of objective description of Mrs. Eddy's activities. An effort will be made to cite both authorized and unauthorized sources for every statement.

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[1] Todd, 1948, p. 372.

The first and most important fact to be established is the kind of relationships which Mary Baker Eddy had in her childhood and as an adult. Were these relationships such as to endow her with a sense of security in emotional, primarily affectional, response and an aptitude for conveying to others a feeling of warmth and friendliness? Or does the evidence indicate that she suffered from a need for response which was pretty consistently frustrated from childhood days and an inability to get along with people?

A sympathetic biographer writes that she was delicate in health from birth and not easily understood by her iron-willed father. She studied at home because the turbulence of school life either depressed or excited her. Her emotional instability at the age of nine was a source of concern to her brother.[1] Another author notes that she clashed with her father intellectually and that, as a result of "disturbances of her childhood" due perhaps to demands beyond her physical capabilities, she was taken out of the public schools.[2] It would seem, however, from other sources that her differences with her father were not entirely intellectual. Harsh punishment by her father failed to break her will and often her mother had to intervene. It is possible that it was the fear of punishment which was partially responsible for the attacks of hysteria to which she was subject. In any event the young Mary Baker was an isolated child who knew neither the games and companionships of childhood nor the discipline involved in such relationships.[3]

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[1] Wilbur, 1929, pp. 17, 21, 25. This official biography must be counterbalanced by less partial accounts.

[2] Powell, 1930, p. 283, note 4, and p. 58. This work is by an Episcopalian minister and is approved by the Christian Science authorities.

[3] Bates and Dittemore, 1933, pp. 7-8. This book is not approved for reading by Christian Scientists. It is a thoroughly documented and critical study the material for which Mr. Dittemore collected over a period of years while a member of the Board of Directors and head of the Publication Committee. He found the Wilbur biography, which he financed and published, unreliable in the light of material he had unearthed; much of it was unpublished and some had been suppressed by Christian Science officials. Although Mr. Dittemore returned to the fold in 1937, or at least publicly apologized to the Board of Directors for his opposition, and maintained his faith in Mrs. Eddy's doctrines, he did not impugn the accuracy of his book. See the Preface to it and his letter from New York dated March 23, 1937.

A more detailed account of these attacks is available:

> It was a strange sickness, inducing a lack of physical vitality, with a pronounced tendency to attacks of childish temper, hysteria, and sudden pains in the spine. During these seizures [her "fits" as they were known; Powell, pp. 70-71] she exhibited symptoms that the modern psychologist would classify as hysteria in an unmistakable form, sometimes screaming, sometimes lying on the floor and pounding her heels up and down, and not infrequently passing into a state of apparent unconsciousness. These seizures were usually brought about by flashes of anger following some thwarting of desire. As a result, it soon became easier for the Bakers to allow Mary her own way than to try to oppose her. During long periods Mary was allowed to stay away from the district school and amuse herself around the house instead. Sometimes there were convulsions, sometimes screams of apparent agony, sometimes the rigidity of catalepsy. [These attacks recurred throughout her life] particularly during periods of great mental stress.[1]

On the other hand the authors cited above take issue with the view that Mary Baker's whims were catered to by her family as the only way of living with her.[2]

A suggestion that frustration of affectional response played a part in Mary Baker's troubles may be deduced from this statement:

> Mrs. Eddy also recalled to a friend that once when a heated discussion with her father about everlasting punishment brought on her a fever, it was her mother's comforting exhortation to

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[1] Dakin, 1929, pp. 6-7, 9, 10. This is a critical and unauthorized biography by one who admired his subject's indomitable courage and drive.

[2] Bates and Dittemore, pp. 31-32, note 4.

> 'lean upon divine Love' that drove down her temperature.[1]

The same interpretation is suggested by Powell's observation that her nervous agitation could be quieted by her father taking her into his arms. Her sister attempted to achieve the same effect later by installing a swing in her bedroom. It seems that Mrs. Eddy always remained partial to rocking in a chair swing.[2] This reaching out for affection may be noted also in the profusion of references to love and kindness in Mrs. Eddy's writing, her equation of God with love and the lovingkindness that she associates with God who is the affectionate Father and Mother of all He creates.[3]

Mary Baker's marital experience was unfortunate and very far from satisfying her emotional needs.[4] She married

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[1] Powell, p. 97. Sibyl Wilbur also mentions this relation between God's love and immediate recovery from a fever. For present purposes it is immaterial whether this incident is fact or fiction; its importance resides in the desire for affectional response which it expresses.

[2] Powell, p. 87; Wilbur, p. 54.

[3] Todd, p. 364.

[4] Mary Baker's letters to Mr. Glover "indicate a desire of extraordinary physical intensity" which his premature death frustrated. Her sexual desires were denied, repressed, and never satisfactorily fulfilled. There is no reason to doubt that this fact affected her relationships with men, but the sexual aspect plays no part in the explanation of the personality traits of interest here. The reasons for this neglect may be repeated: (1) There is a difference in kind between affectional and sexual response. (2) The orthodox Freudian

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George W. Glover at the age of twenty-two. He died six months later whereupon Mrs. Glover returned to her father's home where she gave birth with difficulty to a son whom she could neither nurse nor rear.[1] The custody of her son was almost completely in the hands of a neighbor who brought him up to manhood. Her son was neither a source nor an object of affection; the intimate services and discipline which a mother renders her offspring devolved upon a stranger. In the years following her widowhood Mrs. Glover sank into an invalidism which was associated with the shock of losing an adored brother and her mother by death and her son who was taken by his nurse to another part of the country.[2] In a relatively short time the young woman had lost the four major sources from whom affection could be expected and to whom she might be capable of extending it.

With the remarriage of her father about a year after

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[4] (Continued from the previous page) subordination of affectional to sexual needs amounts to a consideration of the former as merely "de-sexualized" desire and is largely unwarranted. (3) The frustration of affectional response seems to be capable of accounting satisfactorily for the ascetic Protestant characteristics with which this study is concerned. For a psychiatric explanation of Mrs. Eddy's sexual troubles see Dakin, pp. 314-317.

[1] Powell, pp. 75, 80-81, 82, 83; Wilbur, pp. 36-38, 40-41. Dakin has it that she experienced terrible attacks of hysteria after giving birth (p. 18).

[2] Wilbur, pp. 43-46. The brother died about two years before her marriage.

the death of his wife, the penniless Mrs. Glover moved in with her sister, Mrs. Abigail Tilton, who was economically well off and inclined to regulate her sister's affairs. While living on strained terms with her sister Mary Glover was confined to her bed for long periods, complaining of spinal weakness and spasmodic seizures which were followed by prostration amounting to complete nervous collapse.[1] Her marriage after nine years of widowhood to Daniel Patterson, a dentist, was a matter of expediency, motivated in part by the desire to escape a humiliating dependence on an elder sister who was inclined to be domineering.[2] The prospects of an emotionally satisfactory marriage were not aided by the onset of one of her "spells" on the wedding day.[3] Her marriage to Dr. Patterson inaugurated a period of isolation and social obscurity;[4] a depressing period in which life was drab and her mental and physical condition poor.[5] For the three years during which she lived in Franklin Mrs. Patterson was bedridden most of the time, with few acquaintances, no friends and no recreation.[6] Conditions were no different when the couple moved to Groton where her son now eleven years old lived. She saw little of him, remained lonely, neighborless and subject to frequent attacks while neighbors talked about quarrels and the pair were constantly threatened by economic insecurity.[1] On the basis of this history it is difficult to disagree with Dakin's verdict:

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[1] Wilbur, pp. 43, 54; Powell, pp. 84-88.

[2] Powell, pp. 88-91; Wilbur, p. 57; Bates and Dittemore, pp. 55, 65.

[3] Dakin, p. 29.

[4] Wilbur, p. 55.

[5] Powell, p. 91.

[6] Dakin, p. 30.

> She had never held friends, for she had nothing to share of friendship; and similarly she never held her son, for she had nothing of motherhood to give.[2]

After nine years of marriage the couple separated and Mrs. Patterson returned to her sister's home where the former strained relations were resumed along with her usual ill health. It was here that she heard and was impressed by tales of healings by a Phineas P. Quimby who lived and practised in Portland, Maine. She arrived there in October 1862 over the objections of her sister who had no faith in him. Mrs. Patterson's suffering and weakness were replaced by a sense of comfort, well-being and strength during the three-week interval spent in the company of an attractive personality and a group of patients who ardently believed in his powers.[3] To her family's astonishment she returned well, her appearance improved and in gay spirits.[1] Her heretofore bedridden routine was interrupted. But this happy state of affairs was not to continue for long.

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[1] Powell, p. 92; Dakin, p. 30; Wilbur, pp. 58-60, 67-68.

[2] Dakin, p. 31.

[3] Wilbur, pp. 71, 77, 87-89; Powell, pp. 100-101.

> In the year which had just passed [subsequent to her cure] she had been more or less absorbed in the world, traveling, and actively working in relief organizations.[2]

But strained relations with her sister were accompanied by further illness, a return of spinal trouble and chronic indigestion. She became depressed and anxious.[3] A crisis was reached when Mrs. Patterson accused her nephews and nieces of stealing jewelry which she had lost.[4] As a result she rejoined her husband after a separation of two years.[5] But satisfactory relations could not be established.

> Close association with the healthy animal spirits of her husband had always been a source of irritation for her, and now she again found herself in a state of mind closely bordering on the condition in which she left the mountain village of Groton.[6]

The period 1866-1875 was one of economic and emotional hardship for Mrs. Patterson (She divorced him in 1873.) during which time she wandered from one temporary stopping place to another, each visit ending in quarrels and misunderstanding.[1]

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[1] Wilbur, pp. 102, 104-105.

[2] Idem.

[3] Powell, p. 102; Wilbur, p. 105.

[4] Dakin, pp. 57-58.

[5] Wilbur, p. 115; Dakin, p. 58.

[6] Dakin, p. 63.

It was at this time that Mrs. Patterson gathered together into a first draft of Science and Health those ideas to which she gave the name Christian Science. Psychologically they are interesting as a denial and rejection of the experience of half her life. Her book is a reaction to and release from the uncertainties and frustrations of

> . . . a baffled life, and a miserable and unhappy one. Fear is its keynote--fear of inferiority, fear of disease and pain, fear of poverty and dependence, fear of reality, fear of self.[2]

At the age of forty-five her devout reading of the Bible, above all the miraculous New Testament healings, and her experience and conversations with Quimby culminated in a conviction that the fears which haunted her and the troubles which plagued her were illusions that could be exorcised by divine authority. She was convinced that, given the proper technique, divine assistance could be relied upon to satisfy the heart's desires, desires which were all the more desperate because they had never been realized. This conviction she succeeded in imparting to a succession of gradually increasing followers.

Important changes do not occur after middle age; but with the increased acceptance of her beliefs, steady improvement in her economic circumstances and obedience of faithful disciples among whom was her future husband, the ever obedient Asa Gilbert Eddy, she acquired a stately mien, self-assurance, poise and an impressive bearing.[1] She remained susceptible to her seizures which characteristically seemed to occur when "her material affairs worried or perplexed her."[2] Her relationship with associates was marked by a succession of quarrels and law suits which testified to her inability to maintain friendship with any but those who acknowledged their inferiority and complete obedience.[3] The long series of misunderstandings and quarrels has attracted the notice of many biographers, with different explanations according to their sympathies. One of them has written that Mrs. Eddy was in the habit of attributing to her associates qualities she wanted to find in them, a trait which "in a measure perhaps" explains

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[1] Powell, pp. 118-119; Dakin, p. 65.

[2] Dakin, p. 81.

> . . . the amazing sudden ruptures of friendships with which her life and career are punctuated. The friend of yesterday would suddenly appear before her for what indeed he had always been. . . .[4]

It does not, however, occur to him to suspect that perhaps Mrs. Eddy demanded too much of her friends in the way of affection and compliance to her wishes, while closer acquaintance with her might prove to be wearing--as it is apt to be with people of "indomitable will."[1]

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[1] Powell, pp. 119-120; Dakin, pp. 86, 225.

[2] Dakin, p. 212.

[3] See, for example, Powell, p. 129.

[4] Kennedy, 1947, pp. 105-106. This author is partial to his subject.

Sufficient evidence has been presented to show that Mrs. Eddy was the victim of frustration of affectional response to an unusual degree. The next step is to inquire whether, according to the hypothesis already described, she displayed the traits attributed to the ascetic Protestant type. This will be followed by an examination of certain manifestations of a power drive which is interpreted as another substitute for affectional response.

I. MRS. EDDY'S ASCETIC PROTESTANT TRAITS

Even a cursory glance at the data provides ample evidence of Mrs. Eddy's overpowering interest in the acquisition and accumulation of money; she was never loathe to engage in law suits when she considered that her property rights had been infringed. The accusation of theft which she brought against her sister's children was the straw that terminated all relationship with her elder sister for whom Mrs. Eddy cherished an antagonism even when she was seventy.[2] A similar experience ruptured the profitable partnership with Richard Kennedy, a partnership which rescued her from poverty and started her on the road to wealth and power. It seems that Mrs. Eddy enjoyed a game of cards--if she won. But when she lost to Kennedy and his partner in a friendly game, and accused them of cheating, Kennedy immediately ended the partnership.[1]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 125. He admits that she was a "very difficult person to live with."

[2] Dakin, pp. 57-58; Powell, pp. 87-88. Compare also Bates and Dittemore, pp. 92-93.

Considering the purchasing power of the dollar at the time Mrs. Eddy organized classes of paying students and the latter's poverty, the fee of $300 for a course of twelve (later seven) lessons[2] was quite handsome, a tribute to her skill in ascertaining what the market could bear. Nor was this an isolated instance of financial ability. "Never did Mrs. Eddy lose her business sagacity. . . . Anyone who tried to outwit her in business was not unlikely to regret his zeal."[3] The same acumen was evident when the second edition of Science and Health was published; her students footed the bill because Mrs. Eddy refused to risk her own funds. She withdrew authorization later from previous printings when another was issued and required her followers to purchase the latest.[1] "Mrs. Eddy was never a spendthrift with her money."[2] "Schooled in frugality and want all her life, she spent as little of her income as possible," and lived in fear of losing her money since her affairs had started to prosper.[3] Reminiscent of the attitude toward wealth of some of the early Protestant theologians is the fact that for the Christian Scientist God is very far from rejecting wealth. He was not only "a loving Father-Mother but in addition was a Good Provider."[4] This is a divine characteristic which is reiterated throughout Christian Science literature. The high evaluation of wealth is a middle-class trait that is closely and inextricably associated with the ascetic Protestant conception of the calling. An extract from a conversation with Mrs. Eddy exemplifies perfectly the Christian Science and ascetic Protestant idea of self-perfectability, action-oriented personality and devotion to one's occupation:

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[1] Dakin, pp. 89-90. For the authorized version of this incident see Wilbur, pp. 196-197; compare also Bates and Dittemore, p. 147. This affair is instructive as to the emotional hazards of gambling which lie beneath the ascetic Protestant and Christian Science animus against it.

[2] Dakin, pp. 85-86; Wilbur, pp. 214-215.

[3] Powell, p. 182. Mrs. Eddy seems to have considered it necessary to justify her fee by attributing its size to God. See Wilbur, pp. 214-215.

> She finished by saying, 'If you are an ordinary cook, dressmaker, or milliner, Christian Science will make you perfect in any of these lines, and

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[1] Dakin, pp. 233, 292.

[2] Ibid., pp. 125-126, 174.

[3] Ibid., pp. 206, 412.

[4] Ibid., p. 207.

> everyone should seek to perfect himself *wherever* he is, or *whatever* his calling.'[1]

Certainly Mrs. Eddy's experience justified her faith in the Good Provider.

> As her wealth and power grew she developed astoundingly in her ability to direct and manage, to formulate plans and carry them to successful conclusion, to analyze a problem and put her finger on the underlying difficulty.[2]

As one instance of her shrewdness it is said that

> . . . every act of Mrs. Eddy's business career was established in sanctity and adherence to the law,--her copyrights have been ironclad and infrangible and never neglected.[3]

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[1] Powell, p. 193. The heading of one advertisement for Christian Science literature is "Indispensable to Personal Advancement" (C.S.M., April 25, 1944, p. 6). Another advertisement promises "increased capability, success, and happiness." (C.S.M., September 14, 1944, p. 8).

Mrs. Eddy's father, a zealous Calvinist, enjoyed a reputation long associated with ascetic Protestant businessmen:

"In business matters he drove a hard bargain. He paid his workmen on the farm the lowest wages of anyone in the countryside; scrupulously honest in observing the letter of the law, he was none the less a shrewd dealer." (Bates and Dittemore, p. 5.)

[2] Dakin, p. 211. This author notes that one of Mrs. Eddy's most successful lieutenants, Mrs. Augusta Stetson, regarded poverty as a shameful error (p. 352).

[3] Wilbur, p. 264. Mrs. Eddy's sense of proprietorship went so far as to incorporate into the sanctified document governing the organization of Christian Science churches the requirement that she be named specifically as author whenever the Reader read passages from her work (in conjunction with the Bible only) in public worship. None but the Bible, *Science and Health* and other of her writings were to be used as textbooks in teaching and healing. (See the *Manual of the Mother Church*, pp. 32, 58-59; and Dakin, pp. 266-267.) Furthermore, "Whenever

(Continued on the following page)

And what her copyrights secured Mrs. Eddy kept. "There can be small doubt that to the end of her days Mrs. Eddy was well able not merely to garner money, but also to keep it after she got it."[1]

Indeed so important a symbol of security was her wealth that trouble arose over a matter of evasion of taxes.[2] The same interpretation may account for the statement that no trace of any contribution to charity is to be found in Mrs. Eddy's career,[3] a charge which her official biographer denies.[4] In any

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3 (Continued from the previous page) any quotation was made from her works, even by individual church members, the author's name must be mentioned." (Bates and Dittemore, p. 335; and Dakin, p. 268) However, according to a prominent disciple, "Mrs. Eddy never exalted her own personality, nor exacted personal homage, following, or adulation." (Todd, p. 374.) In due fairness to Mrs. Eddy it must be noted that her pronounced pride of authorship is only a somewhat exaggerated development of a tendency that may be seen at work in the meticulous citation of references in contemporary scientific work.

[1] Dakin, p. 451. The official biography refers to a conservative estimate of her wealth at death as $2,000,000 (Wilbur, p. 378).

[2] Dakin, p. 459; Bates and Dittemore, p. 462, note 10. These same two authors reported that on her deathbed the wealthy Mrs. Eddy offered the members of her household $1000 if they would cure her (pp. 448-449). The other side of the coin was Mrs. Eddy's horror at being in debt (*Ibid*., p. 512).

The function of money as a surrogate for affection among Christian Scientists is very appropriately symbolized by the striking resemblance which many of their churches bear to bank buildings, in architecture and the feeling of coldness common to both. If recollection serves me correctly a Christian Science church was bought and converted into a bank in Tucson, Arizona.

[3] Dakin, pp. 459, 420; Bates and Dittemore, pp. 414, 419.

[4] Wilbur, p. 339.

event there were no charitable bequests in her will; aside from arrangements made for relatives and small amounts to a few faithful employees, the bulk of the remainder was bequeathed to The Mother Church, Mrs. Eddy's elongated shadow and memorial.[1] It is no accident, if the present writer's hypothesis is correct, that the individual of whom it could be said that "There was no human being in whom she had faith--no person whom she dared trust,"[2] was the same one who interpreted "Give us this day our daily bread" as "Feed the famished affections." "She had been alone all her life,"[3] and this prayer revealed her deepest emotional need. Her statement of faith, Christian Science, is one long declaration that love can be had through the correct manipulation of nonempirical forces.

Given this inner loneliness, this emotional isolation, and the associated excessive, unremitting, unreciprocated demand for wholehearted affection from others, it is not surprising that reality failed to meet expectations.[4] A long series of disillusioned and broken relationships was the result;

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[1] Wilbur, pp. 377-379; Dakin, p. 512. It will be recalled that early ascetic Protestantism was by no means friendly to charity; its humanitarian development was a relatively late phenomenon.

[2] Dakin, p. 510.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 515, 411.

[4] Bates and Dittemore, p. 225.

Mrs. Eddy was ever ready to suspect the motivation of others.[1] This background explains the presence of "malicious animal magnetism" in her doctrine, the belief that the thoughts of hostile persons could injure one[2]--if not properly guarded against by Christian Science. In the light of modern psychiatric and anthropological findings it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Mrs. Eddy was the victim of the projection of her own aggressive affection-frustrated impulses.

Evidence of orderliness, cleanliness, and punctuality is abundant. From childhood she had made a practice of keeping a record of her prayers "in order to examine herself from time to time to learn if she had improved in grace."[3] She was averse to awkwardness and developed a love of precision of speech beyond her years.[4] Neatness characterized her dress while "perfect orderliness" and "exquisite cleanliness" were conspicuous traits which featured her homes throughout her life.[1] "Her day was laid out with precision. . . . Meals were served on the minute, and every member of her household who was late was likely to have reason to be sorry."[2] "Her attention to the kitchen was as minute as that she gave to her study." She was

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[1] The endemic American fear of "being played for a sucker," especially of being taken advantage of by playing upon the emotions, derives from similar sources.

[2] See Powell (pp. 118-119) about Mrs. Eddy's sensitivity concerning persons who, she thought, thought about and therefore harmed her; also Dakin, pp. 242-243.

[3] Wilbur, p. 27. This rational ordering of conduct was a conspicuous feature of ascetic Protestantism.

[4] Powell, pp. 61-62.

> An expert housekeeper of the best New England type, . . . her life was lived according to a fixed routine. . . . in the great house on Chestnut Hill careful servants on cleaning days would put thumb tacks in the carpets so that they might return each piece of furniture to its exact position in Mrs. Eddy's study.[3]

It is needless to more than mention that Mrs. Eddy was interested in intellectual matters; her voluminous writings testify to as much regardless of any judgment as to its worth. Nor need evidence be presented in behalf of her unremitting applicability to the career she carved out for herself, a career which led to a social status considerably above that to which she was born. It may be inferred from an amiable quirk which Mrs. Eddy shares with many of her fellows that she was actively interested in social prestige, at least the kind associated with a claim to distinguished ancestry--a claim which is often accorded an amused scepticism and was disputed in Mrs. Eddy's case. She went so far as to have a Scottish coat of arms carved in a prominent place in her home and embroidered on silk, while the crest was used as a seal.[1]

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[1] Dakin disagrees (pp. 43-44), at least as concerns her apparel during poverty. Wilbur, pp. 253, 59, 332-333; Powell, p. 120; Dakin, pp. 274, 506; Kennedy, p. 42.

[2] This is a characteristic which, Powell notes and the present writer has had occasion to verify, is found in Christian Science services. "Mrs. Eddy devoted that tireless attention to detail which to-day gives Christian Science services an appeal different from others. She began, and closed, on time." (p. 152)

[3] Powell, pp. 178-179; Wilbur, p. 306; Dakin, p. 502; Kennedy, p. 104.

At the outset of this chapter it was noted that the frustration of response may give rise to a drive for control over persons and things, to an emphasis upon the coercive in human relationships. There is much in Mrs. Eddy's behavior to support this hypothesis.

It was perhaps her most discerning biographer who said of her that she ". . . was endowed with a more or less natural desire to please which apparently all her life was in conflict with that other inborn desire to rule."[2] It is not surprising that, after having shown dominating tendencies as a little girl, she found living with a domineering sister uncomfortable.[3] Mrs. Eddy preferred to extend "firm guidance" to relatives rather than receive it.[4] It is significant of her will to power that she consistently sought for intimate acquaintances those who were her intellectual inferiors.[1]

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[1] Wilbur, p. 6, note 1; Bates and Dittemore, pp. 305-307, 343-349, 401; Dakin, pp. 231, 322-324.

[2] Dakin, p. 14.

[3] Powell, p. 283, note 4; Bates and Dittemore, p. 55.

[4] Wilbur, p. 166.

> It was necessary for her spiritual well-being that she have the devotion of at least one man, and she was never long without it. She always chose an inferior whom she could readily dominate.[2]

Two of her biographers believe that a system of bells which summoned the members of Mrs. Eddy's household was a symbol of complete authority that "gratified her sense of efficiency" and "gave her at last [she was over seventy then] a feeling of security."[3] It has been said of her when she was twenty-five years younger that "Wherever Mrs. Eddy sat, at any time, was the head of the table."[4] Mr. Eddy was not the man to dispute this. He ". . . was kindly, modest, unassuming, patient, sensible, methodical, reliable, no troublemaker. . . ." He had an "instinct to defer to superior wisdom and to work with others."[5] He was indeed "a man of such gentleness and sweetness that persons knowing him but slightly were often led to think him devoid of the true force of manliness."[6]

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[1] Bates and Dittemore, p. 65.

[2] Ibid., p. 177.

[3] Ibid., p. 317.

[4] Powell, p. 111.

[5] Ibid., p. 119. Mr. Eddy frankly admitted his subordination to his wife (p. 150).

[6] Wilbur, p. 221. Compare Dakin's estimate of Mr. Eddy as negative, docile, and dull (p. 120).

With her students she was peremptory in ordering them not to take notes; she would not tolerate coughing in an audience.[1] She had indeed, "become a more commanding, more dominating figure . . ." with her escape from poverty,[2] "inclined to subordinate everything and everybody to her work."[3]

> She had become [at fifty-four] a self-confident, positive, enthusiastic, exceedingly ambitious woman. To her students her word was law; she exacted obedience to the smallest detail. It should be said that for the most part this obedience was granted and even offered eagerly.[4]

From the very beginning of her future husband's entry into her circle ". . . she lost no opportunity to praise his obedience and willing service as an example to the other students. . . ."[5] Mrs. Eddy had no hesitation in trying to regulate their personal lives. "Her grip over her students constantly tightened. She ruled them with a power that was absolute."[6] In expelling eight of her students from her movement (in 1881) she "gave a conclusive demonstration that she ruled, no matter what might happen, in the little world around her."[1] In the words of Mrs. Eddy's official biographer she asserted,

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[1] Powell, p. 155.

[2] Dakin, p. 86.

[3] Kennedy, p. 186.

[4] Dakin, p. 96. Compare Wilbur, p. 260.

[5] Dakin, p. 122.

[6] *Ibid*., pp. 147, 183; note the examples on pp. 185-186.

> . . . that power and strength which has been hers in all subsequent emergencies in her church, the force and foresight which have caused the world to acknowledge her a leader pre-eminent in efficiency and masterly direction.[2]

This power and strength it seems were exercised with scant regard for the disciples' wishes or convenience.[3] A member of three years' standing could be ordered, on two days' notice, to serve Mrs. Eddy's household for a period of over three years.[4] Perhaps the most conspicuous and admiration-compelling exhibition of sheer grit occurred in her eighty-fifth year (1906) when, to quiet the suspicious clamor of those who believed her dead or senilely helpless in the hands of those who surrounded her, she met reporters,[5] erect despite the weakness of extreme age.

> Her marvelous will-power, her dynamic determination, were never more evident than at the

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[1] Powell, p. 129.

[2] Wilbur, p. 261.

[3] Dakin, p. 200.

[4] Fisher, 1930, p. 137. This hostile author denies as untrue the officially sponsored image of the founder of Christian Science as saintly, gentle, compassionate, disinterested, etc., an image not consonant with the powerful, determined, irritable, ill-tempered and domineering person of reality (p. 79).

[5] Wilbur, pp. 343-347. See Bates and Dittemore for the World's report and their commentary on it (pp. 395-398).

> time when those around her had despaired of her ability to recuperate. . . . It was her will that ruled.[1]

The most conspicuous instance of her dynamic will to action in this period was the founding two years before her death of the justly renowned newspaper which, against opposition, she named The Christian Science Monitor.[2]

Mrs. Eddy's power drive was neither exhausted nor satisfied by dominating her associates; it found new fields to conquer in her Christian Scientific control over inanimate (the weather, for example) and animate (a dying tree, a bulldog, a cow) nature.[3] Lest it be thought that this aspect of Christian Science is an aberration peculiar to Mrs. Eddy alone, it seems worthwhile to refer to a recent work by one who has thoroughly explored and apparently completely accepted Christian Science. This author is

> . . . well aware that any individual who did not share in the erroneous judgment causative to the atomic bomb would have had a possibility of escaping disaster, even though a resident of Hiroshima or Nagasaki.

Further, with reference to the atomic bomb,

> . . . we may say that it depends on an individual's

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[1] Dakin, pp. 403, 404.

[2] Powell, pp. 235-236.

[3] Bates and Dittemore, pp. 358, 361, 443-444, 447; Dakin, pp. 502-503.

> state of thought whether he is susceptible to a catastrophe of war or not.[1]

At this point, however, the relation of Christian Science to nature is of less interest than its relation to social organization as exemplified by Mrs. Eddy in her *Manual*.[2] Of this compilation it has been correctly said that it reveals

> . . . a mind dealing with a practical problem in a manner that can only astonish because of its handling of detail, its analytical tracing of cause and effect, its ability to classify, analyze, and resolve.[3]

In order to minimize references to invidious motives which Mrs. Eddy may or may not have had when she issued at different times the various by-laws constituting the Manual, only the probable results of the ordinances will be examined.

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[1] Steiger, 1948, p. 54. This self-admittedly objective doctoral dissertation may best be understood as a set of derivations or rationalizations worked out by a highly educated individual as a means of reconciling intellectually his acceptance of a doctrine which met his emotional needs. It is corroborative of the functional interdependence of ascetic Protestant psychology and Christian Science that Dr. Steiger is ". . . from a strongly religious Protestant family, . . ." and found in the Christian Science church service a quality congenial to him. "That quality was a spirit of love, impersonal and unobtrusive affection, which so far had been unknown to me and for which I was very receptive." (p. 5) The present writer believes that this sentence may be accurately translated as recognition that what was needed was a source of affectional response which would not require an emotionally disturbing *quid pro quo*. The functional importance of belief precluded critical examination of Mrs. Eddy's work.

[2] *Manual of The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist*.

[3] Dakin, p. 370.

The sectarian inclination of this "church without creeds"[1] is emphasized by the injunction that prayers in the church services be offered for the congregation collectively and exclusively, that a Christian Scientist is not to patronize a publishing house or bookstore selling "obnoxious books" or belong to other organizations which impede progress in Christian Science.[2] Of relations among the members of The Mother Church and, it may be presumed, of the branch churches, it is stipulated that animosity and "mere personal attachment" are not to impel either their motives or acts.[3] One source of animosity is minimized, or at least prevented from becoming an object of undesirable publicity, by the rule which forbids practitioners (who must be members of The Mother Church) from suing their patients for payment. The same result ought to be achieved by the requirement that the practitioner reduce his fee for "chronic cases of recovery" and when he had failed to achieve a cure.[1]

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[1] Manual, p. 17. It seems to the present writer that the Manual's "tenets" constitute part of the creed of Christian Science. The substitution of tenet for creed is a distinction without a difference.

[2] Ibid., pp. 42-45. A distinct tendency toward preferential association with Christian Scientists is noticeable among members of this sect. This tendency would be re-enforced by the rule that only Mrs. Eddy's writings (and the Scriptures) are to be used in teaching and healing (Ibid., p. 34; see also pp. 43-44).

Sect, denomination, movement, etc. are used as references to Christian Science for terminological variety, not in the technical sense of Weber, Troeltsch, and Becker, despite the latter's cautious classification of Christian Science as a cult. Its characteristics cut across those of the ecclesia, sect, denomination, and cult (Barnes and Becker, 1940, pp. 35-37).

[3] Ibid., pp. 40-41. It is important to note this norm of impersonality which is considered desirable for Christian Scientists; its significance as a component of the sect's ideal personality will come up frequently.

Along with these measures which tend to bind Christian Scientists together there is another and closely related group of directions oriented to the norm of impersonality. Though exceptions are possible the rule is that there be no receptions or festivities after a Christian Science lecture.[2] The substitution of reading without commentary excerpts from the Bible and _Science and Health_ in church services for the traditional sermon prepared by the minister[3] effectively eliminated any possibility of arousing audience emotionality.[4] And it is a conspicuously noticeable feature of the Reader's and

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 46.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 94.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 32.

[4] As one Christian Science official remarked approvingly, "It impersonalizes things. Christian Science is based on reason, not emotion." This rationalistic and affectively neutral approach is also conveyed by the common expression that one is a student of Christian Science or that one _studies_ it.

Lecturer's delivery that it is free of emotion. His or her self-control is such that enunciation is strikingly precise and clear although the general impression is one of monotony due to the absence of any depth of feeling and the uniformity, usually, of intonation. Strikingly enough and significant of the affective neutrality inherent in the basic personality, is the fact that widespread conformity to this mode of speech is achieved without formal training in public speaking.[1] The only requirements laid down in the Manual are that Readers be intelligible and good English scholars,[2] and that they shall read understandingly and be well educated.[1]

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[1] Compare Powell's remark about Christian Science lecturers. They "speak with a serious effectiveness, which is free from all strenuousness and emotion." (p. 49) It was not until the present writer came across this statement that he was convinced that his earlier impressions about Christian Science services and lectures were not a matter of accident or imagination.

What Perry Miller has to say (1939, pp. 59, 68) of the orators and preachers of an earlier day applies by and large to Christian Science speakers also; Christian Science rationalism is a genuine Protestant-American development.

"Puritan orators did not usually thump the rostrum or gesticulate like their successors in the camp-meeting and the revival. Their tone was restrained and their manner surgical, but among the first generation the sermons glowed therefore with all the whiter heat."

"A Puritan preacher never surrenders to feeling; he does not celebrate the glories of religion in sustained paeans or bring home its terrors by shouting, but argues his way step by step, inexorably disposing of point after point, quoting Biblical verses, citing authorities, watching for fallacies in logic, drawing upon the sciences for analogies, utilizing any information that seems pertinent."

[2] Manual, p. 30.

One of the most interesting features of this governing code and one which throws a bright light upon the psychology of Mrs. Eddy and her disciples is the dismissal of two of the most important _rites de passage_, death and marriage, in eleven brief lines.[2] No provision is made for either as part of the church's obligation to its members. They marry and die outside its premises.[3] It is of course understandable that death should be slighted in the _Manual's_ regulations since its theology denies it reality. But marriage is an eminently happy, hopeful, and forward-looking event which one might think would fit in well with the Christian Scientist's optimistic outlook upon life. The solution to the paradox is that although one event is joyous and the other sad both are highly charged with emotion and as such constitute a threat to the stability of the Christian Scientist's personality. It might be argued that the absence of ministers precludes the performance of marriage and funeral services. But it is the faithful conformance to Mrs. Eddy's instructions which prevents the Reader from officiating at such events[1] as well as the inhibition against experiencing strong emotions.[2] Otherwise the movement's political and economic influence would have little difficulty in securing legislation conferring upon Readers the power to conduct such ceremonies.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 32.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 49-50. This is all the space that is allotted in a book which is so detailed as to prescribe the length of time that organ music is to be played while collections are made (pp. 61-62), the order of services for different occasions (pp. 120-127), and the application blanks used by the church (pp. 114-119).

[3] Interestingly enough, there seems to be something of a trend in Protestant funerals to eliminate the presence of the corpse from the ceremony in the church. Compare Parsons (unpublished) on the American tendency to ignore or play down the fact of death.

The power element which has proved so conspicuous in Mrs. Eddy's career is manifested in her Manual in a number of by-laws which effectively concentrate all power in the Board of Directors.[3] While this group has the ultimate authority[4] Mrs. Eddy has seen to it that failure on the part of the Board to conform to the requirements of the by-laws may be the basis of a complaint which could lead to its resignation or reform.[1]

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[1] Funeral rites are conducted at the mortuary; they are not the official concern of the church. Participation by a Reader is in his private capacity only.

[2] There is no need to mourn since there is no death (Science and Health, p. 386).

[3] It should be remembered that up to her death Mrs. Eddy was in complete control of her movement and the Board of Directors was merely a façade. Thus any centralization of authority in the latter meant that the reins of power were still in her own hands. It is a profound tribute to the charisma with which her disciples endowed Mrs. Eddy that the process which transformed her personal charisma into the charisma of office exercised by the Board of Directors was automatic.

[4] Manual, pp. 27-29, 65. The provision that only members of The Mother Church may function as Readers in branch churches places the Readers under the control of the Board of Directors (p. 32).

The function of the Reader is extremely limited; he reads excerpts from the Bible and Science and Health which, incidentally, are selected for him by the central authorities in Boston and mailed to the congregations and Readers. Under no circumstances is the Reader to add any explanatory remarks.[2] The effect of this provision together with that which confines Christian Scientists to Mrs. Eddy's works in teaching, worship, and healing[3] is to prevent any change in meaning through a gradual reinterpretation.[4] The same stereotyping of Mrs. Eddy's message is effected by the controls upon the Christian Science Lecturers who must be members of the Board of Lectureship which is subject to the Board of Directors. The Lecturer must submit to the Clerk of The Mother Church (appointed by the Board) a copy of his lectures before delivering them[1] and he is cautioned not to intervene in the internal affairs of the branch churches to which he is called or sent by the Board of Directors or Board of Lectureship.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 29. Thus Mrs. Eddy continues to rule, although vicariously.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 32. He is to enforce church discipline and by-laws but he cannot be a Leader or President of a church (pp. 32-33).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[4] In other words, the appearance of new charismatic personalities is effectively prevented. Other provisions will be mentioned which work to the same effect. The conclusion which the present writer draws from examining the Manual and its objective consequences is in flat contradiction to that of Steiger (1948, p. 210). Mrs. Eddy took every conceivable precaution to prevent freedom of thought and independent thinking in religious matters; if any thinking occurs it must conform to Mrs. Eddy's views.

There is an ingenious balancing of the Reader against the Lecturer so that neither has any power. These offices may not be occupied by the same person simultaneously.[3] And while the Reader is restricted to a term of three years, thereby curbing the possibility of developing a following, the Lecturer is placed at the beck and call of the branch churches, the Board of Lectureship and the Board of Directors.[4] It is significant that any enthusiastic reaction to a particularly good lecture and its overt expression are curbed by the prohibition of receptions or festivities in honor of the speaker.[5] While the size of his fee is his own affair the total income from lecturing is determined by the number of lectures per year he is called upon or directed to make. Since his travel expenses and the cost of the hall are borne by the branch church employing him,[1] the Lecturer must remain on good terms with the branch to ensure future engagements. On the other hand, should he become too popular the Board has it in its power to prevent return engagements.

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[1] Ibid., p. 93.

[2] Ibid., pp. 93-94. Section 3 orders the Board of Lectureship not to meddle with the branch churches and it may be assumed that this applies to the Lecturers also.

[3] Ibid., p. 95.

[4] Ibid., pp. 93-95. Section 4, p. 26, seems to limit the Reader to a term of three years for The Mother Church only; but the branches seem to follow suit.

[5] Ibid., p. 94. The audience is to leave "in quiet thought" (Idem).

The same kind of atomization of potential power foci is evident in other Christian Science offices. Since Mrs. Eddy ranks healing above teaching[2] the former will be examined first. No attempt may be made to monopolize healing in any branch church or locality; all who understand Christian Science may engage in this work.[3] Competition among practitioners is thus assured. Furthermore, the by-laws see to it that particularly strategic places for attracting a clientele and thereby possibly attaining to a personal following are made unavailable. This is done by barring branch churches, reading rooms or rooms connected with them to the offices of practitioners.[4] The healer is rendered quite helpless and dependent upon the central authorities by the requirement that he pursue no other profession or occupation if he is to be eligible to advertise his services, as he must, in The Christian Science Journal.[1] Although this does not bar persons who have independent incomes from taking up healing, it does make all other practitioners ultimately dependent for their livelihood on conformance to the wishes of the ruling powers in Boston.[2]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 96.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 92. This is not surprising. Healings testify to the correctness of her doctrines, spread their influence and help preserve them unchanged; teaching Christian Science offers the possibility of change through reinterpretation.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 49.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 74.

What might be considered the most dangerous source of possible divergence from Mrs. Eddy's views, those who expound it to newcomers, was put under the direct control of the authorities in Boston. Christian Science teachers, like Readers and practitioners, must first become members of The Mother Church before taking courses leading to a degree (C.S.B. and C.S.D.) which is prerequisite to teaching.[3] And when an individual has become a teacher he finds his income (as a teacher) and classes strictly limited. Only one class per year may be taught and then to not more than thirty students who may not be required to pay more than $100.[1] The maximum yearly income is therefore none too high; but another consequence of the by-laws is to allow the multiplication of teachers so that none may build up a large following.[2] At the same time feelings of resentment toward outstandingly successful teachers are throttled at the source because large and therefore profitable classes cannot be developed.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 82, 73. Another control is the requirement of membership in The Mother Church in order to study for the role of practitioner.

[2] Use will be made of this fact and of practitioner listings in the Journal in a subsequent chapter in an attempt to estimate the growth and distribution of the movement. Direct information on these matters is barred by the Manual (p. 48).

[3] Ibid., p. 92.

It will have been noted that The Mother Church is the only avenue to advancement in Christian Science. Even if one's interest is in the field of publication, literary, managerial or otherwise, the judicious individual will come to the conclusion that the good will of the Board of Directors is a prerequisite if important posts are to be achieved, for this Board controls the Board of Trustees which in turn runs The Christian Science Publishing Society.[3] The importance of The Mother Church has been at the expense of the branch churches which are indeed locally owned and controlled but quite without prestige or the possibility of providing any opposition to the powers who manage the Boston church. The fragmentation of branch churches as potential rivals proceeded in part from the stipulation that they can not set up subordinate churches. That was a privilege reserved to The Mother Church.[1] It may be surmised that any Board of Directors whose authority is so carefully guarded by the Manual and whose perpetuation is maintained by co-option[2] would have little if any incentive to change the by-laws--which is no longer possible since Mrs. Eddy's death.[3]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 84.

[2] Teacher and pupils are not to meet more than once a year (p. 84).

[3] _Ibid_., pp. 80-81. A dispute over the locus of power was settled after Mrs. Eddy's death by litigation; the court decided in favor of the Board of Directors (Bates and Dittemore, p. 360).

Sufficient evidence is now at hand to prove that the Christian Science movement is organized on a thoroughly rational bureaucratic basis. It is authoritarian in its centralized control and designed as such by its creator.[4] Yet there is reason to believe that in the actual functioning of the machine the motivation of the members is the reciprocal exchange of response and not the imposition of and conformance to the will of a superior. This will be considered after a basis has been prepared by an examination of the depth of emotional control expected of the Christian Scientist.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-74.

[2] This seems to be the effect of Section 6, pp. 77-78 and of Section 3, p. 65; article 1 of the Deed of Trust is decisive (p. 130).

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105, 137.
Mrs. Eddy has seen to it that church funds are carefully guarded and accounted for by a system of checks and balances and individual officer's responsibility--although ultimate responsibility is with the Board of Directors (pp. 75-79, 79-80).

[4] There can be no doubt of the objective consequences of Mrs. Eddy's by-laws, while careful examination of the circumstances preceding and succeeding the formulation of each one strongly suggests if it does not conclusively prove the coercive intentions behind them. Corroboration may be had by recourse to the works of Dakin and Bates and Dittemore.

Among the testimonials of healings in Science and Health there is one, "A Convincing Testimony,"[1] which brings out sharply the depth of emotional control attainable by members of this movement. The gist of the testimony for present purposes is that the mother of a six-months-old child who was in agony due to a pain in the ear cured the trouble by reading and concentrating upon the appropriate passages in Science and Health. By this means the mother controlled her own fears and cured[2] the child. It is of the first importance for this study that a mother was capable of steeling herself to the agonizing screams of her infant and calmly read Science and Health until the pain had passed. While there are a great number of similar cases in Christian Science testimonial literature from Mrs. Eddy's day to the present which testify that this degree of self-control is common among Christian Scientists, it is hard to believe that comparable behavior is anything but exceptional among Jews and Catholics.[1]

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[1] Pp. 684-686.

[2] The present writer accepts the actor's definition of the situation as part of the data; interpolation of the writer's estimate of the efficacy of the method of healing is out of place. Testimonials and other evidence are sources for the construction of a picture of Christian Science norms and value-attitudes.

Doubtless it is easier to endure another's pain than one's own, but there is too much evidence of stoical endurance of suffering to accept this facile explanation. The evidence is so abundant that no attempt will be made to cite specific references.[2]

The emotional discipline of the Christian Scientist extends beyond the endurance of pain; resistance to favorite vices is expected and achieved. Testimonials to the conquest of desire for tobacco and alcohol are innumerable.[3] For the Christian Scientist these appetites are equated with pain, sickness, and sin as illusory and due to failure of emotional discipline.

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[1] It is this writer's impression that members of these two faiths pay relatively little attention to the admonitions of books on "scientific" child care that infants be kept on a rigid feeding schedule and handled as little as possible. They could not resist the crying. This type of infant training, incidentally, tends to produce personality traits characteristic of ascetic Protestantism. Cf. A. I. Richards, 1948, pp. 40-44.

[2] One is taken at random. Steiger, for example, cites a testimonial from The Herald of Christian Science of January, 1946, by a staff sergeant who ignored what must have been excruciating pain prior to the rupture of an eardrum and its drainage (pp. 157-158).

[3] A typical one is "Desire For Liquor and Tobacco Disappeared," Science and Health, pp. 693-694.

> The depraved appetite for alcoholic drinks, tobacco, tea, coffee, opium is destroyed only by Mind's mastery of the body.[1]

Mrs. Eddy denies the necessity of yielding to sinful temptation;[2] strict moral control of emotional impulse is basic--as it is for ascetic Protestantism. There is another trait common to the Christian Scientist and the ascetic Protestant: the ability to resist the pressure of outraged public opinion when traditional practices are ignored.

> The most remarkable part of the last healing [her daughter's infantile paralysis] was the overcoming of resentment and criticism on the part of the neighbors and others who thought I should have sent her to a hospital and employed medical care, instead of having a Christian Science practitioner. We trusted her to the great Physician, who heals.[3]

This depth of emotional control helps explain the features of Christian Science services already mentioned: prohibition of animosity and "mere personal attachment" from Christian Scientists' motivation, the discouragement of festivities after their lectures, the clear, precise, and unemotional diction of untrained Readers and Lecturers, and the slighting of marriage and funeral ceremonies in Christian Science ritual. The implication would seem to be that Christian Scientists fear the expression of emotion per se and go far toward its suppression. But the "abnormal" scope and depth of control exhibited suggests that the ability to suppress emotion has been founded upon a capacity to repress it, a capacity which in turn has been laid down in the personality by a specific type of family rearing in which emotional expression has been systematically discouraged and the opposite ideal inculcated.[1]

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[1] Science and Health, p. 406. The capital M in Mind should warn against confusing the Christian Science and ordinary meanings of the term.

[2] Ibid., p. 381.

[3] The Christian Science Journal, 62 (May, 1944), 310. It will be recalled that Weber attributed to the early ascetic Protestants who broke down the traditional medieval business practices a high degree of moral discipline which he considered necessary for the rationalistic innovations they inaugurated (1930, p. 69).

What impressed the writer when he first attended a Christian Science service was the large audience's silence and immobility which were so intense that he inquired of his companion whether it was a normal condition. After thinking back upon her experience she replied yes, it was quite normal. There was practically no coughing or sneezing, no restless squirming or rustle of clothing. And this self-control could be seen equally in the calm gestureless speech of those in the audience who arose to tell of their healings as in that of the Readers.[2] The differences from any university audience known to the writer was extraordinary. The same unearthly silence with each person minding his own business is especially marked in the Reading Rooms which are quieter by far than the ordinary run of university libraries.

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[1] In more general terms: emotional control may be present and need not be associated with emotional inhibition; but emotionally inhibited people do have emotional control. The relation between control and inhibition is not symmetrical.

[2] Compare Powell's statements that Christian Scientists aren't disorderly or noisy; they don't cry aloud or fret (p. 41). The present writer's impression of the congregation's "coldness" has been matched by others also.

If it is borne in mind that failure of emotional discipline is responsible in Christian Science for physical and social disabilities, it will be possible to understand the self-control the members of this sect demonstrate in day-to-day living and the function which belief in its doctrines has in maintaining it. The citation which follows is noteworthy for a degree of insight that is rarely found in Christian Science testimonials and for the clarity of the relation between the religious belief and emotional stability.

> He left his home late one stormy afternoon to do some shopping at a near-by store. Halfway there he discovered he had no money. Immediately came the temptation to feel irritated. However, it was quickly checked with the thought that he would be grateful for having made the discovery before going the whole way. Then as he retraced his steps he distinctly recalled having put some money in his pocket a few hours earlier. He also remembered that shortly after starting on his errand he had slipped on the icy pavement. He had been walking with his hands in his pockets at the time, and to keep his balance he jerked them out and upward. Had this dislodged the money? Apparently so, for when he reached the place where the incident occurred he looked down and there at the edge of the widewalk lay the missing money. Despite the fact that it was a street much used by pedestrians the money had remained untouched. Is it not reasonable to assume that his grateful attitude gave him both perception and protection, helping him to think calmly and clearly, and thus protecting him from loss?
>
> In Christian Science we learn that God is the

> all-knowing Mind and that the real man is forever at one with that Mind. Gratitude helps us to become conscious of this at-one-ment. Thus our mental doors are opened to the harmony-producing, health-protecting, and joy-maintaining thought which God is ever imparting to His children. Then we find ourselves spontaneously praising God and singing new songs of gratitude to Him for His everlasting goodness to man.[1]

Here the religious element is greatly attenuated, restricted to gratitude over having discovered the loss as soon as he had. The functional significance of this religiously oriented reaction is that it prevented loss of emotional control which in turn permitted a cool recollection of the sequence of events leading up to the discovery, an analysis of the how and where the loss had probably occurred, and testing the reconstruction by investigation and verification. As will be seen repeatedly one of the major effects of Christian Science doctrine is its facilitation of emotional control. So overwhelming is this emphasis that it has the appearance of an overreaction to a great fear of loss of emotional control. It is as part of this reaction that the Christian Science personality ideal of complete emotional discipline is best understood.[2]

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[1] "The Power of Praise," C.S.M., October 9, 1944, p. 6.

[2] The aversion to emotionality is rather naively expressed in an invitation and caution to testimonial writers: "Convincing testimonies are welcome. . . . Vivid pictures of injuries or suffering are to be avoided." (The Christian Science Journal, 62 (May, 1944), iii).

Consider how doctrinal belief functions in the following incident which involves a business problem; the citation follows a statement that if men appeal to God, divine inspiration will solve "every right demand," regardless of whether the problem concerns

> . . . fuel, employment, friends, ration points or the funds to provide the necessities of everyday living. . . .
>
> . . . a man one day discovered that an obstruction was shutting off the necessary inflow of a certain commodity which was his means of livelihood. All material aid within the reach of experts in his line of business failed to remove the obstruction. Then, with consecration and prayer, he turned wholly away from the material sense of the situation until love and gentleness had taken possession of his thinking. Under the guidance of heavenly inspiration, he was led to a stranger whose knowledge and experience furnished the needed aid, and the obstruction was removed. *But it should be noted that release from the mental pressure of resentment, fear, and anxiety took place before the obstruction disappeared.*[1]

The crucial point is the manner in which resort to Christian Science enabled the believer to obtain "release from the mental pressure of resentment, fear, and anxiety."

This same consequence of the application of Christian Science may be read between the lines of the quotation below. Anyone who has lived in furnished rooms will be able to fill in the details for himself.

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[1] "Oil of Inspiration," C.S.M., May 1, 1944, p. 6; italics added.

> A student of Christian Science was confronted recently with the inconveniences of inadequate living conditions. After spending some time in a rather impatient and most exhausting search for a better material home, with only spasmodic declarations of Truth, she became somewhat discouraged. Finally the situation in the home where she had been living became so discordant that she was compelled to do something and do it quickly. She saw that only by consistently rejecting the suggestion of inadequacy as it came to her consciousness would she see its nothingness. So instead of working along the lines of knowing that a vacancy somewhere would be available for her, she worked to know that error could not make her believe in a discordant home; that she was in a place where Mind meant her to be; that that was the only place she desired, and it was not material but spiritual. Needless to say, in a few days, a harmonious and beautiful home was found.[1]

The last statement is a model of understatement as nothing is said of how the "harmonious and beautiful home was found." But the present writer is in a position to relate an incident on this very point which exemplifies with classical simplicity the realism of Christian Scientists in action. This is the advice of a Christian Scientist on how to find an apartment:

> Don't you worry. Listen to the lecture on Christian Science at 4 P.M. today; pray to God--and put an ad in the paper. That's the way I got my apartment.[2]

The first three incidents cited above are concerned primarily with emotional control on the intrapersonal level.

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[1] "How to Find Your Home," C.S.M., March 10, 1944, p. 6.

[2] Compare the Manual, Section 23, allowing Christian Scientists to consult physicians.

They demonstrate the operation of Christian Science beliefs in application to what are essentially non-social and impersonal problems. The emotional discipline of the individual in trying situations is clearly implied. The fourth incident involves antagonistic social relationships but nothing is said directly about how these were handled. But it may be reasonably surmised that the psychological complement to the affirmation of the Christian Science doctrine described would have been lessening of hostility which in turn could have modified social relationships for the better. The next four excerpts are selected because they constitute an increasingly explicit corroboration of this interpretation.

> A little girl, adopted in infancy by foster parents, early developed habits of untruthfulness, deceit, and dishonesty. At the age of twelve the situation was so serious that it became known to the neighbors and the teachers of the school where the child attended. Unhappiness and condemnation reigned in the home, and it seemed that drastic steps must be taken immediately. The child's foster mother, however, had learned something about Christian Science, and in her distress she turned to friends who were Scientists for help.
>
> With steadfast, prayerful insistence the false law of heredity was denied and repudiated; the supremacy of God's law of universal good was gratefully acknowledged; and the fatherhood and motherhood of divine Love were persistently claimed for the child. In a short time she was healed. Evil propensities melted away; the neighbors acknowledged the change; harmony was restored to the family circle; and this child soon became one of the most loved and trusted pupils in her school.[1]

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[1] "A Happier Home," C.S.M., September 14, 1944, p. 8.

It is unnecessary to discuss the author's error in attributing to heredity what the child developed in apparent response to an emotionally unsatisfactory situation in the foster home. Although the sequence of events in the article does not suggest it, the crucial factor seems to have been that "harmony was restored to the family circle." At least this is the interpretation acceptable to contemporary sociological and psychiatric theory. The foster parents' attitude to the child changed and with it the latter's behavior. There is of course no reason to doubt that the parental attitudes were modified as a result of the advice offered by the Christian Scientists who were consulted.

> Two men were discussing an unkind remark that had been made about one of them. Meaning to give some comfort, one said, 'Oh, well, we have to consider the source.' The other said, 'I know we do; but that chap wasn't the source of the remark.'
>
> The first speaker glanced at his friend quizzically. 'Is that your Christian Science talking again?' he asked. The Scientist smiled and agreed. The other said, 'But why do you say that he was not the source of that remark?'
>
> 'Because I have learned that evil does not originate in man.'
>
> 'Then where does it originate?'
>
> 'In something Paul called 'the carnal mind,' which he defined as 'enmity against God.' Christ Jesus spoke of it as 'the devil' and called it 'a liar, and the father of it.'' (John 8:44.)
>
> 'We are taught in Christian Science that this devil is material sense, rather than a human personality,' the speaker continued, 'so you see, a

> false sense, a liar, originated that remark we were talking about, and the man did not. Since material sense is a liar, there is no truth in it. Devoid of truth, it is unreal, it cannot harm us, and we need not fear it. The only real source of being is God, divine Mind; and everything He unfolds is good.[1]

It is clear that persons motivated by such doctrines find it possible to ignore the hostility of others, to refuse to react aggressively and thereby minimize if not altogether eliminate unfriendly relations. The quotation below generalizes this attitude and the concept on which it rests for business and government.

> During the so-called depression years and the early months of the present war the writer became well acquainted with many business leaders. Some were spiritually joyous, and in others true joy had never found expression. The latter had cultivated a form of negative thinking that stunted within them the power to express courage, hope, or cheer. People working for them became easily disheartened, and the public, in turn, meeting these people, became disgruntled and frequently withdrew its patronage.
>
> On the other hand, the leaders who possessed spiritual joy emanated courage and cheer. They knew that true business is not the trading of goods for dollars. They evidently understood, moreover, that a government based on the fundamental principle of liberty and justice could not suffer from depression or decadence. Institutions headed by these leaders prospered and reflected throughout their rank and file the essence of joy and brotherly love.[2]

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[1] "Consider the Source," C.S.M., January 13, 1949, p. 8.

[2] "Your Heritage of Joy," C.S.M., April 1, 1944, p. 6. Note the reflection of the Puritan conception of disinterested devotion to a calling as a means of establishing the City of God on Earth.

But as a typical concrete demonstration of the influence of Christian Science doctrine upon social relationships in the occupational sphere and its significance for bureaucratic organization, consider the following:

> It is not always an easy matter to deal with others as we would have them deal with us, yet the Golden Rule is as imperative in its demands as is the Mosaic Decalogue. A young man who had accepted an apparently desirable business position soon found that his superior in the office was not easy to work with, since he often adopted a dictatorial, unreasonable, and sometimes unjust attitude toward his subordinates. The situation gradually became more complex, until resignation from the position appeared to be the best way out of the difficulty.
>
> But there was another way out, and the young man found it. He was a student of Christian Science, and began to see that, from the standpoint of perfect God and perfect man, which he knew to be correct, his part was to recognize as real only the man of God's creating. He endeavored to reverse his outlook on the whole situation, refusing to accord reality in his thinking to anything which was opposed to God's law of perfection. He knew that God never created a mortal, and certainly knew nothing of the disagreeable qualities which had appeared to prevail in office affairs. As he clung persistently to this correct viewpoint, the atmosphere gradually began to change. The manager within a short time ceased to express ill-will toward his subordinates, and harmony became the rule. Eventually an enduring friendship developed between the two men.[1]

It is necessary to repeat that this sort of behavior is not an isolated instance; there are many illustrations in the literature. And it is precisely because this behavior pattern is representative and normative that it is possible to use this illustration as evidence concerning motivation in bureaucratic organizations. It will be recalled that Christian Science was organized by Mrs. Eddy on bureaucratic lines with all power firmly centralized at the top. There is ample evidence that she was motivated in this direction by a need to dominate others as a partial substitute for failure to attain affectional response. But it was also noted that there was reason to believe that the motivation of Christian Scientists within and without the church was based not on a need for domination over inferiors and submission to superiors but on a reciprocal exchange of response. In the excerpt cited above the Christian Scientist reaction to a dictatorial attitude on the part of one's official superior was decidedly negative and found to be unendurable. But it was possible to change the social situation by refusing to respond aggressively to expressions of hostility and persisting in exhibiting a friendly attitude until there was established an emotionally satisfactory interaction pattern of mutually friendly response. A system of relationships dependent upon coercive ties is very distasteful. It is, indeed, to the Christian Scientist an "error of mortal mind" which must be so treated by his technique that it is converted into a system of friendly relationships. It is fairly clear, moreover, that turning the other cheek in this fashion requires a high degree of self-discipline and an acute need for affectional response. Furthermore, to the extent that the Christian Scientist basic personality resembles that of the ascetic Protestant (and the evidence to the resemblance if not identity is persuasive) it may be said that ascetic Protestantism created its image in bureaucratically ordered organizations (especially in commerce and industry) in which discipline based on the exchange aspect of relationships is more characteristic and more highly valued than that dependent upon coercion. This aspect of Christian Science psychology will constitute part of the explanation of the movement's influence and distribution abroad.

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[1] "Man Expresses Mind," C.S.M., February 21, 1945, p. 8.

Although Mrs. Eddy's motivation for the creation of the formal organization of her movement was authoritarian, in its functioning and in the behavior of her disciples a democratic attitude seems to prevail--if by democratic one means a willingness to consider the views and feelings of others, whether they are superiors, equals or inferiors. But this conclusion points up the fact that Mrs. Eddy's teachings are responsible for Christian Science psychology and conduct[1] while her practice was quite otherwise. And yet, "There can be no possible doubt that Mrs. Eddy believed in her preachments utterly, completely and with her whole soul." Dakin's explanation that "She asserted that which she wanted to believe; she desired so earnestly to believe that for her the desire was the realized truth."[1] is undoubtedly a part of the truth but only a part. The rest of the explanation, or at least an important share of it, must include recognition of the fact that the conceptions comprising Christian Science were developed in response to Mrs. Eddy's emotional conflicts, an attempt to reconcile the affectional and coercive drives in her makeup. Although her doctrines *were* successful in that they enabled her to achieve a measure of emotional stability which she had not attained prior to middle age, she was never to reach that degree of integration which her doctrines idealized and presupposed. She seems to have been entirely too maladjusted in her childhood and marriages to arrive at more than temporary stabilizations between oscillations of her power drive and the need for response. It is revealing of Mrs. Eddy's conflict that when public ridicule finally induced her to relinquish the title of Mother with its connotations of giving and receiving response, she selected as next best that of Leader and all that it implies of obedience and control.[2]

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[1] "Mrs. Eddy was not always simple or dignified, but it was her ideal to be, and this ideal she had handed on to her followers." (Bates and Dittemore, pp. 450-451) This personality ideal requires self-discipline.

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[1] Dakin, p. 371.

[2] *Manual*, pp. 64-65. She guaranteed that no other in her movement would ever hold that title.

If, as is evident, Christian Science did not succeed in wholly controlling the anxiety from which Mrs. Eddy suffered throughout her lifetime, then, according to the hypothesis of the origin of paramagical action, the chances of discovering such actions in her behavior ought to be favorable. It is not necessary to assume that each item below is of paramagical significance, but that the sum of them in relation to her circumstances and insecurity is indicative of her partial dependence upon paramagical supports.

At fifteen Mary Baker is already dieting for her health,[1] a practice which she is still continuing, in the form of a diet of graham bread, rye pudding, and fruit, after she has given birth to her son at the age of twenty-three.[2] I do not know whether Mrs. Eddy continued her experiments in food faddism beyond the period of her stay at Groton.[3] It would not be surprising if she had, at least until after her discovery of Christian Science.

Somewhat more information is at hand about her interest in spiritualism, magnetism, hypnotism, and homeopathy,[4] all of which were finally displaced by Christian Science.

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[1] Dakin, p. 11.

[2] Powell, p. 87.

[3] Wilbur, p. 66. She was thirty-eight when she left.

[4] Dakin, pp. 24-25; 55. Wilbur denies the first (p. 53) but see p. 54; Powell, pp. 96, 291, note 29; Wilbur, pp. 66-67. It seems that Mrs. Eddy continued her therapeutic fads to the end of her life if the references to a "galvanic battery" as a stimulant may be relied upon. See Dakin, pp. 400, 423, and Bates and Dittemore, p. 398.

Within the limits of her means Mrs. Eddy seems to have always been interested in clothing. Whether her taste was good or bad is irrelevant, but even as a Sunday school teacher of eighteen she was remembered long years afterward; even then, in isolated Sanbornton she wore things that were in fashion.[1] One biographer says that when she was approaching forty she was characterized by an "habitual neatness and exquisite taste in choosing and wearing clothes."[2] On the other hand at forty-five she is described as

> . . . a little faded creature with her hair in ringlets around her face, in the fashion she then affected; her woollen dress shabby and poor, with its shabbiness emphasized by her affectation of tawdry and excessive beribbonment, . . .
>
> . . . her unique costuming and rather birdlike flutterings, were all regarded as a part of the 'authoress' atmosphere.[3]

Contradictory as these views are they agree that Mrs. Eddy regarded the choice of clothing as important, and that the result was sufficiently out of the ordinary to attract attention.

As a widow of twenty-five Mrs. Glover had succeeded in shocking the neighbors of Sanbornton by the use of rouge, a practice which in those days (1846) was almost unknown in New England, especially among "nice" young ladies.[1] What is of greater interest is that her complexion was "fair and beautiful to the end of her days," with plenty of natural color despite which she used rouge and powder.[2] At forty-two Mrs. Mary Baker Patterson is described as

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[1] Wilbur, p. 34. Kennedy states that she introduced a new hair style (p. 42).

[2] Powell, p. 98.

[3] Dakin, pp. 43-44.

> rather thin and scrawny in the fashion of nervous women in middle life; her rapidly graying hair 'touched up' and worn in ringlets; her cheeks still rouged; her manner replete with the little affectations that had been with her since childhood.[3]

The psychological significance of some of these habits is suggested by the fact that at the age of fifty when she had begun to escape from insecurity and attain a measure of financial ease through the dissemination of her beliefs,

> she gradually dropped many of those little oddities in speech, clothing, and manner which she had unconsciously adopted as a sort of psychological barricade.[4]

She progressed still further in stability of personality for at the age of sixty-four

> She was a person of great, stately mien, perfectly self-possessed and disposed to be somewhat

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[1] Bates and Dittemore, p. 42.

[2] Dakin, p. 26; Wilbur, pp. 34, 145; Kennedy, p. 136. Dakin attributes her use of cosmetics to vanity.

[3] Dakin, p. 54.

[4] Dakin, p. 86.

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overbearing and impressive in manner.[1]

Christian Science had indeed brought Mrs. Eddy a long way toward a sense of ease and self-confidence.

The "support function" of Mrs. Eddy's use of cosmetics and adornments is revealed with notable clarity in two agonizing crises when she was eighty-five. To silence charges that she was mentally incompetent and the helpless tool of her subordinates, Mrs. Eddy decided to hold an interview with reporters of the New York City World and a hostile neighbor who was to identify her.

> From what we know now, it is clear that Mrs. Eddy was just then suffering under a renewed attack of renal calculi. Realizing, however, the importance of immediately overcoming the reporter's suspicions, she courageously consented to the interview. It occurred the next afternoon, in her own room, but she was in too much agony to be able to carry it through, and it was broken off in the middle. . . .[2]

It was under such conditions as these that Mrs. Eddy "girded up her loins" and went into battle with her colors flying--literally--in defense of her life's work, because the discoverer and founder of Christian Science could not afford to admit to either senility (she was, indeed, very far from it) or sickness.

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[1] The Rev. James Henry Wiggin, quoted by Dakin, p. 225.

[2] Bates and Dittemore, p. 395.

> They [reporters and a neighbor] found themselves facing an aged woman who was standing in the centre of the room supporting her weight with her hands on a heavy table. . . . She was woefully emaciated. Her hollow cheeks were bright with rouge; her almost hairless brows were pencilled a jet black, and made a strange contrast with the whiteness of her hair. At her lean throat sparkled the diamond crown that had been Augusta Stetson's gift.[1]

This description may have been taken from the biased report in the World of which Bates and Dittemore write, "In the light of subsequent events, one may safely say that no more misleading interview was ever published." But not with reference to what is of concern here, "And doubtless she was roughed and powdered."[2]

Two weeks after this interview she submitted to another. And in preparation "she nerved herself for her ordeal, and called for her women to bring her her finest clothes, and was bathed, and rubbed and prepared."[3] In view of the notorious unreliability of eye-witnesses, especially of those with a bias, it is not surprising that differences in the reporters' accounts were noted.

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[1] Dakin, pp. 399-400.

[2] P. 398. "The subsequent events" refer to Mrs. Eddy's remarkable power of recuperation and the notable accomplishments she was yet to achieve, among them the founding of The Christian Science Monitor.

[3] Dakin, p. 405.

> The eleven different reports that appeared in the newspapers the following day might have led the world to believe that eleven Mrs. Eddys had made their appearance in that door.[1]

But

> In the description of this scene the author has compared the accounts written by most of the reporters who were present. Evidences of personal bias appear in some of the accounts, but the majority of the eye-witnesses agreed as to the essential details. In the main, the report of A. J. Vivian in the New York Times has been relied upon where there was variation in facts or any evidence of undue desire to prove a thesis.[2]

The scene:

> There she remained motionless for a moment, haggard, emaciated and palsied, her cheeks tinted brightly with rouge. . . . She was dressed in brave extravagance, in finery reminiscent of nothing more than a marchioness in one of her girlhood's favorite Southworth novels. Powdered, bewigged, and bejewelled, fluttering with ribbons and plumes, she would have attracted stares anywhere. She was at heart still the Mary Baker Glover who all her life had sought to impress a difficult world with ill-chosen nuances of costume that could make her nothing less than remarked and conspicuous. But to-day she wore an ermine cloak instead of the beribboned wool dress of leaner years. . . . It parted at her shoulder to reveal a rose silk gown. At her throat were her diamonds. On her head a hat nodded large, white ostrich plumes.[3]

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[1] Mrs. Fleta Campbell Springer, quoted by Bates and Dittemore, p. 400.

[2] Dakin, p. 408, note 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 408. Bates and Dittemore say that as her hair thinned with age Mrs. Eddy, like many others, wore "switches" to supplement what remained, not a wig (p. 397, note 4).

It may be concluded from the evidence that Mrs. Eddy's personality traits conformed closely on the whole to those comprising the ascetic Protestant type. Although her need for affectional response did not succeed in moderating the drive to impose her will upon others, her religious doctrines emphasize the love motif to the exclusion almost of power and, what is of equal importance, the realization of ends through the reciprocal exchange of affection. While Mrs. Eddy's own need for power shaped the structure of the Christian Science movement, the everyday behavior of her disciples, which is based upon her teachings, derives from and is oriented toward a need for affectional reciprocity that tends to inhibit the urge to dominate others. The depth of emotional discipline and the ideal of affective neutrality presupposed in Christian Science literature suggest a deep-lying anxiety over loss of self-control. The emotional discipline which has been developed seems to be the price paid for retaining response in a pattern of family relations marked by emotional inhibition. Mrs. Eddy and her writings have been endowed with charismatic authority because they assure emotionally starved believers that an inexhaustible source of affection is always available and capable of solving all their problems without, however, requiring of them an expression of response which might disturb the equilibrium of emotionally inhibited personalities. This modal personality, it seems clear, is admirably adapted to roles which require a relatively high degree of affective neutrality and seems especially designed for functioning in bureaucratic organizations whose discipline is based on the need for response.

The letter which concludes this chapter is at once a manifestation of value-attitudes in the process of inculcation in family life, a reminder of the ascetic Protestant personality type which is the standard that determines whether or not Christian Scientists are classifiable, psychologically, as Protestants, and, finally, an introduction to the subsequent chapter which concerns itself with a distinguished achievement of Christian Scientists: The Christian Science Monitor.

> In other days, in more leisurely times, it was possible to play for an hour with the children and then sit down to a delicious dinner cooked by someone else in the kitchen. But today, the kitchen is the theater of action on the home front. That "someone in the kitchen" is none other than the mother of the family or the husband of a war-working wife or an older child.
>
> My husband and I felt that "the time between the dark and the daylight" should be so organized for our son and daughter that they stayed indoors and were occupied. We found that music practice is better in the before-breakfast period when they are fresh. Home work is more effective after a good dinner. However, the children's choice for the twilight winter hour were radio serials and news commentators. But we hoped to combine a share of the housework with their radio entertainment. So this idea has been worked out for school days to everyone's satisfaction with the result that I am relieved of dishwashing and table setting while

the children earn extra money for their war bonds.

Jack, now a tall fourteen, and Peggy, a shorter ten, must come indoors from play "when the street lights are turned on." We found this rule the best way for them to enjoy all the winter daylight and the most impersonal method for us to say, "It's time to come in." They can't ask the street lights for another half hour of play! Then I leave written instructions on the table to eliminate that overworked phrase, "I forgot!" I write down the menu so the table setter will know what flatware to use. Paper napkins are our custom except for special guests. The children also take over the task of starting simple vegetables, such as peeling potatoes and scraping carrots, and I write down the exact time to start the cooking of each. It works out best, we find, if they alternate the tasks weekly. A kitchen can be a lonely place for one child but a room in which to learn co-operation when two are busy. And if the children prefer different radio programs, the vegetable cook listens to his radio in the kitchen and the table setter takes his hero into the dining room.

When the youngsters took over clearing the table and washing dishes, they realized for the first time how much china is used at a meal. They became quite realistic and declared that, by using a bread tray and butter dish, we could do away with bread and butter plates. They began subtracting dish after dish until I feared we might soon eat in a primitive way from one communal bowl with our fingers! So we compromised on a minimum number of dishes for dinner.

A few evenings of help and instruction were required to teach them the best way to wash dishes. They might as well learn correctly at first, we decided. We arranged the working space in the kitchen to fit our scrape, rinse, and stack technique in assembly-line fashion as they carried out the dishes. I often hear them murmur the words--scrape, rinse, and stack--like a refrain, as they get up from the table. They heartily agree that the crumpled paper napkins are fine to wipe off silver and pans before washing. Peggy measures the soap flakes into the dishpan. Fortunately, she prefers washing and Jack likes drying so there

> is no need to shift those tasks about. And they are both supposed to put everything away and set the breakfast table.
>
> There are evenings when Jack must rush away to Scout meeting or when Peggy wants to play a game before bedtime. Then it is arranged between them for one child to do all the washing, drying, and putting away. They keep a running account of the extra work and swap the jobs occasionally. They have learned to work well together and to consider their housework not something menial but a contribution to the war effort for the purchase of war bonds. So the children's hour in our home means, simply, that all's well in the kitchen!
>
> Sarah Shields Pfeiffer[1]

This letter reveals a combination of traits that has come to be associated with the ascetic Protestant. There is impersonality, a drive toward efficiency, a tendency to a rational, pragmatic, and experimental approach not bound by tradition, a predisposition to rationally ordered, methodical working arrangements that is reminiscent of and congenial to both assembly line production and bureaucratic organization; as well as a readiness to consider and respect the wishes of children on a plane of equality with that of the parents which recalls Piaget's requirements for the development of autonomous morality. On the basis of the analysis to this point it seemed unlikely that the letter could have been written by other than a Protestant; the author's name is noncommittal. It was not until about three years after its publication that the present writer gathered enough courage to write Mrs. Pfeiffer and inquire about her family's religious background. Her reply follows:

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[1] C.S.M., March 25, 1944, p. 4.

> Your letter of the 10th was a great surprise. Neither my husband nor myself are Scientists, though we have the greatest admiration for them and for the Monitor. His father was a Unitarian, his mother a Lutheran; both my parents are Methodists. My husband and I, as well as our two children are Methodists.
>
> I have written a great deal for the Monitor, especially for the Woman's page, the Education page and the magazine section. *The editors* with whom I have been quite friendly *know my religious affiliations but have often remarked that I seem to embody many tenets of a Scientist*.
>
> . . . .
>
> Mrs. Sarah Shields Pfeiffer[1]

---

[1] March 13, 1947; italics supplied.

It is worth noting that the interpretation of Mrs. Pfeiffer's original letter and the forecast of her probable ascetic Protestant derivation were made three years earlier. Kennedy has mentioned that Mrs. Eddy's early followers were Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists (p. 261).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

If actions speak louder than words an examination of Christian Scientists in action should reveal their value-attitudes. Furthermore, if emotional inhibition and the personality ideal of affective neutrality are as basic to Christian Scientists as the analysis in the preceding chapter suggests, then it should not be too difficult to trace their influence in the day-to-day product of their co-operative labors, provided that it lends itself to analysis.
Mrs. Pfeiffer's letter revealed certain characteristics associated with the ascetic Protestant personality type, while she impressed members of the Monitor's staff as a person who closely resembled Christian Scientists. The letter's message and manner of presentation conformed to the sentiments and standards of the newspaper. The inference would seem to be that an examination of various aspects of a newspaper operated by Christian Scientists ought to reveal norms and attitudes similar to those brought out in Mrs. Eddy's analysis. The first step, obviously, is to establish the religious background of Monitor employees.

> . . . we have from 1908 onwards found it necessary and proper to employ several non-Christian Scientists. . . , only a small number of non-Christian Scientists are now members of our editorial staff. Most of them are veterans in our employ, some going

> back to 1908. . . . However, the vast proportion of our staff correspondents, writers, etc. are themselves Christian Scientists.[1]

It remains to inquire how it is that a Christian Science newspaper can analyze and report with distinction the activities of a world so given over to the "errors of mortal mind" whose reality Christian Science denies.

Perhaps the most convenient approach is to report and attempt to explain the judgments of a veteran journalist whose wide experience and acknowledged integrity command respect. It should be stated that the late Oswald Garrison Villard's observations of fact coincide with the impressions of the present writer as they have developed during the last six years or so as a subscriber to the Monitor.

Villard characterizes it as

> . . . a newspaperman's newspaper.
>
> . . . its own news service is entirely to be trusted.
>
> Its treatment of the news is of the very best.
>
> [The staff has freedom] to write the facts as they see them.

In the news columns the Monitor seeks and succeeds by and large in achieving accuracy while the outstandingly high quality of its foreign correspondents enables it to present an intelligent survey of world events to which a large proportion of its columns is devoted. Its general, educational, and literary articles are excellent. In Villard's considered opinion the Monitor is high above the usual American daily in manners and morals, despite the disadvantages of church ownership. In short the Monitor has earned journalism's awards for merit.[1]

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[1] Erwin D. Canham, Managing Editor, in a letter (July 22, 1944) to the writer.

Interestingly enough in view of the relation of neatness and cleanliness to ascetic Protestantism, the Monitor's excellent make-up and typography (which have brought it recognition more than once) elicit from Villard the remark that the Monitor is never sloppy in appearance.[2]

> . . . it has enterprise, efficiency, vigor, and far more liberalism than all but a few of

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[1] 1944, pp. 109, 115; 1926, p. 121; 1944, p. 109; 1926, pp. 122-123; 1944, p. 116; 1926, p. 130; 1944, p. 118.

A poll of Washington correspondents showed them to have voted for the most fair and reliable newspapers in this order; The New York Times, Baltimore Sun, The Christian Science Monitor, etc. See F.O.R. Fellowship, 14(April, 1948), 10.

A more recent estimate states that the Monitor is ". . . regarded by a great many knowledgeable people as a shining example of journalism at its most responsible" while some qualified observers "have gone so far as to call it the best newspaper now being published in the United States." (George Frazier, 1949, pp. 13 ff.)

[2] 1944, p. 117; 1926, p. 125. Frazier speaks of the publication's building as immaculate inside and out. This feature, as well as its noiseless and methodical efficiency, is quite unusual in the newspaper world apparently (Ibid.).

our dailies, and the highest ethical standards.[1]

The underlying motivation for these characteristics is something of which Mr. Villard is more than half aware. His chief objection to the *Monitor* and one which is rather emotionally voiced is its *lack* of emotion. It is marked by

> . . . a well-meaning, rather enlightened, . . .; not an aggressive editorial vein, and one *not intended to hurt people's feelings . . . which ought to conduce to satisfaction on the part of its readership which likes mild meat*.[2]

The *Monitor* relies more on light than heat, in Villard's opinion, but does not crusade or hit hard enough against wickedness and injustice. It does, however, *occasionally* lapse into hot indignation.[3] He wonders whether the passionate approach would not be more effective than the *Monitor's* present editorial policy if the aim is to improve conditions, and then proceeds to his most significant observation: The tameness and monotony ("no lights and shadows") of the *Monitor* are due perhaps to the defects of its qualities or, rather, of its policies.[1]

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[1] Villard, 1944, p. 117. Although this study is not concerned with normative judgments, it may be suggested that the *Monitor's* liberalism is in fact a conservative attachment to the traditional American values as they relate to the rights, duties and opportunities for the development of the capacities of the autonomously responsible individual. Its liberalism is, hence, of a piece with other aspects of ascetic Protestantism mentioned in the quotation.

[2] 1926, pp. 120, 129; italics added.

[3] 1944, p. 112.

It is precisely because of the Christian Scientists' emotional inhibition, their anxiety concerning threats to emotional equilibrium and the closely related capacity for affective neutrality that the Monitor possesses those features which Villard praises and blames. The objectivity which the paper displays in its dispassionate reporting and intelligent analysis of events is based upon an emotional discipline which would be jeopardized if it were to engage in hot crusades and indulge in displays of indignation. The "heat" would be at the expense of the "light" which is like the Christian Scientist: cold.[2] In its anxiety not to hurt people, earn their dislike, or painfully stir its own readers' feelings the Monitor, with very few exceptions (and these are significant), never initiates campaigns to uncover and correct conditions of which it thoroughly disapproves. It may know of these conditions but is content to wait and report the efforts of others who engage in the crusades. For the same reasons, and not merely because of Mrs. Eddy's positive and negative injunctions, the Monitor avoids mentioning crimes, scandals, misery and vice unless the relation of these conditions to the public welfare compels it.[1] In addition to being "errors of mortal mind" these phenomena are painfully disturbing because they constitute a threat to Christian Scientists' emotional equilibrium and peace of mind. Even the effort to go out and actively proselyte would involve a degree of emotional intensity that would be upsetting. So the Monitor makes little effort to bring newcomers into the fold[2] and that little is confined to a brief article in The Home Forum page, an advertisement there for Christian Science literature and an occasional verbatim report of a lecture on Christian Science. This department, The Home Forum, displays the psychological features of the rest of the paper. The extracts from books (of good literary quality), the original essays, the anonymous religious article, the reproduction of artistic masterpieces--all rigorously exclude the somber, the tragic, the pessimistic, the soul stirring painfully happy as well as the heartbreakingly sad aspects of life. These disturb the emotions and are therefore banished by the doctrine which teaches that they are nonexistent, "errors of mortal mind."[3]

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[1] 1926, pp. 130-131.

[2] An employee of a nondenominational cemetery remarked that she was repelled by their funerals; they were the most "coldblooded" mourners while the Jewish were the most emotional, playing up to what they thought was expected of them.

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[1] Villard, 1944, p. 111.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[3] The Monitor's comic strips are always clean, tepid, and incurably optimistic. As an instance of the latter note the characteristically Christian Science ending to a

(Continued on the following page)

It is worth noting that the essentially middle-class nature of the Monitor, and Christian Science, is revealed in the daily Home Forum article on Christian Science. Villard had remarked that this newspaper was more friendly to the worker, and farmer, than the ordinary large city paper[1] and yet it is extremely improbable that more than an insignificant percentage of its subscribers (or readers for that matter) are wage earners. But in the approximately six years of reading the Home Forum religious article, regularly for the first year or two, and then haphazardly, the present writer knows of only one instance in which the person whose experience is recounted could be recognized as a wage earner.[2] Therefore the friendliness which the paper displays toward the lower classes is based neither upon economic considerations[3] nor psychological affinities. If anything, the emotional repression which marks the American middle classes and that portion which finds the

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[3] (Continued from the previous page) Cinderella story in "The Adventures of Waddles" (May 19, 1947). The "bad" mother and daughter sincerely repent of their harsh treatment of the "good" daughter and all are reconciled. The "real" person is always good.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[2] The heroes and heroines of Monitor comic strips (there are no real villains) are never lower class.

[3] The Monitor is not motivated by the need or desire to make a profit, although it may be assumed that it tries to minimize its deficits, if any. See Villard, 1944, p. 118.

Monitor congenial is in marked contrast to the relative ease of emotional expression that recent research has found among the wage-earning classes.[1] It is not at all surprising therefore that the menus in the page devoted to feminine interests and activities are, so far as an untutored male can judge, of a type appealing to middle-class preferences. It may be then that the Monitor's sympathy for wage-earners derives from humanitarian, egalitarian or other motives.[2]

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[1] Davis and Havighurst, 1946.

[2] There is some statistical evidence supporting the conclusion as to the middle-class nature of the Christian Scientist. See Christianity and the Social Order (Study No. 10), Information Service, May 15, 1948, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, from which the following data are taken.

While the national sample (12,019) fell into 13.1% economic Upper, 30.7% Middle and 56.2% Lower classes, the Christian Scientists (only 137) had in these classes, respectively, 24.8%, 36.5%, and 38.7%.

As to education level, the national sample (12,241) divided into Part High School or Less (51.9%), and High School and Higher (48.1%), but the respective Christian Scientist (138) percentages were 33.3 and 66.7.

Occupationally the 134 Christian Scientists were overrepresented in the Professional, Business, and White Collar groups and underrepresented in the Service, Skilled, and Semi-skilled, Unskilled, and Farm groups.

They (141) are substantially overrepresented in cities of 100,000 and larger.

Politically the Christian Scientists (141) were substantially for Mr. Dewey in 1944.

To the extent that 39 cases may indicate the direction of the wind, the Christian Scientist favors the individual's responsibility for getting ahead after the government provides job opportunities (76.9%) rather than have the government guarantee everyone a decent job (23.1%). The former figure is the highest of all religious groups responding and the latter is the lowest; the national sample percentages are, respectively, 52.4 and 44.1.

In the arena of American politics passions run high--but not where The Christian Science Monitor is concerned. It is politically independent and ordinarily prefers to sit on the sidelines as a critical observer who calmly, impartially and critically reports and analyzes the claims of the political parties. And this attitude is maintained even in so emotionally strained a period as the 1944 presidential campaign when the Monitor came out in favor of Thomas E. Dewey, solely on the basis of the fourth term issue. Every effort is made to give each major party's activities an equal share of the news columns.

As a test of the paper's political neutrality an examination was made of the daily political cartoon on the editorial page from June 1, 1944 to December 27, 1944, a total of 176 cartoons. Of these 164 (93%) were clearly non-partisan in the sense that no sides were taken with reference to any political party. Of the remainder eight can be taken as a portrayal of political fact without representing an expression of the paper's political preferences. The cartoon of June 10, 1944 pictures a happy GOP elephant pushing a cart with a smiling Dewey on it; that of June 22 shows a GOP hen hatching a smiling Dewey egg while others are as yet unhatched. On June 28 a Dewey draft is sweeping the Republican convention at Chicago. The next day a sickly GOP foreign policy plank is emerging from a smoky room. This is balanced the following day by a cartoon showing an anxious Democratic donkey and Roosevelt singing about the Dewey threat. Woodpeckers working away at a Solid South tree is the theme of the July 12 cartoon. Most significant of the *Monitor's* political detachment is the juxtaposition the next day of a completely nonpartisan cartoon and the editorial in which the paper comes out against the fourth term. On the 19th FDR is shown riding to Chicago on a two-seater bicycle with four Vice-presidential possibilities in the rear. The cartoon of October 23 is partisan in an unemotional way while the accompanying impersonal editorial is *against the fourth term but not pro-Republican as a party*. Four cartoons remain then as definitely in favor of the Republican Party. But this is not the last word. From June 1 through July 14 all the cartoons are by *Monitor* artists while from July 15 through August 1 ten of the fifteen are reprints from other newspapers; all the rest are by *Monitor* artists. *All four of the partisan cartoons are reprints*; the Republican *Los Angeles Times* (July 20), the Republican *New York Herald Tribune* (July 21), the (probably) Republican *Buffalo Evening News* (July 22) and the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* (August 1). The title of the first is "Is This Trip Necessary" and refers to the Democratic convention at Chicago; the second pictures Eliza leaving Henry Wallace on an ice floe to the Southern bloodhounds. The third shows a soldier accepting the fourth term from FDR his commander-in-chief while the last depicts a donkey pulling a decrepit surrey with FDR and Truman. It seems likely that one or more of the Monitor's political cartoonists were on vacation so that resort to outside cartoons was necessary. But while politically motivated cartoons managed to elude the "censor" the editorials, written by the Monitor staff, accompanying these same cartoons remained unbiased. If the discipline was not strong enough to prevent selection of biased cartoons, it could at least in five opportunities out of six (July 26 through August 1) restrain its own artists from drawing this kind of cartoon. And out of the ten which were borrowed six were nonpartisan.

The 176 cartoons are susceptible of further analysis. One hundred and seventeen (66%) are concerned with foreign affairs, five with a combination of domestic and foreign affairs, and three are not classifiable in these terms.[1] The table on the following page speaks volumes for the nature of Christian Science discipline and tensions.

When it comes to expressing aggressive feelings against fellow citizens Christian Science discipline is an effective barrier; only 4.5% (4/89) is aggressive. The exigencies of war, however, reveal ample hostility but it is almost wholly (84/89) directed against external enemies. The inference is

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[1] They have to do with: the weather not being under army control, Christmas hope shining through the clouds, and a burning light signifying the brotherhood of man.

TABLE I

AGGRESSION IN MONITOR POLITICAL CARTOONS

Type	Total	Number Aggressive	Per cent Aggressive
Domestic	51	4[*]	8.0
Foreign	117	84	71.8
Domestic and Foreign	5	1[**]	20.0
Other	3	0	---
Totals	176	89	50.6

[*] The four "borrowed" cartoons.

[**] There is some doubt as to the classification of a cartoon which urges putting election energy into the production of war supplies. The one classified as aggressive urges the purchase of anti-Nazi war bonds.

not that Christian Scientists are deficient in aggressive feelings against their fellows but that it is so effectively repressed that it is hidden from ordinary observation. The probabilities are that appropriate psychological tests would reveal plenty of repressed aggression.[1]

But while it should come as no surprise that Christian Scientists share with the rest of humanity impulses to aggression, it is more important to ascertain the occasions, and thereby the value-attitudes, when aggression reveals itself. Perhaps the only really moving editorial that this writer has ever read in the Monitor is that entitled "Majdanek" in the issue of September 2, 1944. The editorial writer is impelled by an overpowering nausea at the revelations of what had occurred there; hot indignation rises over the rejection of "the validity of moral concepts" and the violation of "the sanctity of the individual" in

> a factory where creatures quickened by human feelings, by sympathy, by affection, by response to the beautiful in nature and art, can be swiftly reduced to fertilizer for cabbages in near-by fields.

This editorial does not specify the content of the moral concepts which are in its opinion valid. Hence it is pertinent to cast around for evidence which might throw light on both the concepts and the kind of violation which ignites the Monitor wrath. What kind of domestic behavior elicits moral castigation?

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[1] Methodological considerations suggest that the conclusions of the present study be checked by the administration of a battery of projective and other tests to suitably selected Christian Scientist, ascetic Protestant, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Jewish subjects.

The lead editorial, "Test for Leadership" (February 13, 1947), is enlightening; it deals with the Republican attitude toward the reciprocal trade agreement and the fight over the confirmation of David E. Lilienthal to the Atomic Energy Commission. The Republicans who had been victorious in the Congressional elections were called to account for their partisanship, their "playing fast and loose with a relapse into economic isolationism which would weaken every American effort to check totalitarianism and preserve peace." The Monitor demands disinterested devotion to the welfare of the country and the world at large. On the second issue which in the Monitor's view is less decisive the editorial writer is less restrained; he directs words like ridiculous, disgraceful, smear "falsely and unfairly" against some of the Republican leadership in the Senate.

> . . . the issue is bigger than Mr. Lilienthal. It is whether American policy is going to be directed by disreputable demagoguery, narrow nationalism, and cheap partisanship.

Affective neutrality, universalism, and disinterest are part of the Monitor's credo.

On the same day, Roscoe Drummond, then Chief of the Monitor's Washington Bureau, takes up the Lilienthal case in his "State of the Nation" column and charges the opposition with dishonesty because it hides the real reasons under a cloak of false ones. Honesty is a cardinal virtue. The next day, February 14, the political cartoon has two thugs, "Third Degree" Experts, approaching a door labeled Senate Hearings on Presidential Appointments, with one saying to another, "Who knows--we might get some new ideas"; the title of the cartoon is "Will It Come to This?" The impartial protection of the law and public sentiment against coercion in securing evidence hedge about the dignity of the individual. Mr. Drummond returns to Mr. Lilienthal in his column of February 18, points to "the partisan illogicality" of the opponents, and lays down two norms for the selection of public officials. "Surely capacity and devotion to the law an appointee is to administer must be primary criterions." For the Monitor the disinterested use of logic, objectively demonstrated merit relevant to the universalist requirements of an office, and strict conformance to law are virtues.[1]

Before turning to the next series of data it seems worthwhile to bring out the implicit pride with which a *Monitor* bureau chief recounts a story illustrating that impersonality which forms part of the modal personality of the American people as well as that of Christian Scientists.

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[1] The kind of behavior that grates upon the Monitor's values is set forth with wry amusement in The New Republic of February 24, 1947, p. 44, in its "Bandwagon" column.

"Reece [then Chairman of the Republican National Committee] Warns GOP Only Party Counts, Voters Are Asked to Ignore Abilities in the Election of Local Candidates (Head and subhead in the New York Times).

> Senhor Moojen took no part in the press seminar. But I think he profited as much from it as the rest of us.
>
> Some 25 newspaper writers from prominent journals across the country gathered recently in the comfortable quarters of the Public Administration Clearing House on the University of Chicago campus. We put our elbows on green-felt-covered tables, or set back with heads parked in hand, and discussed this question: "How can states and cities meet inflation?"
>
> We listened eagerly and patiently to experts and professionals in the field of public administration. We asked questions and made suggestions. There were differences of opinion among the experts and among the scribes. No punches were pulled, but they were punches aimed at uncovering rather than damaging.
>
> Senhor Moojen is an official in the budget bureau of the State of Rio Grande de Sul, Brazil. He attended the seminar by invitation as an observer. He sat on the sidelines, but we noticed throughout that he was an earnest listener.
>
> After the meeting I had a talk with Senhor Moojen. Yes, he enjoyed the affair very much. And, yes, he had learned a great deal about American governmental affairs. But what impressed him the most?
>
> Without hesitation he said:
>
> "I just can't understand it. There were no fights. You talked of very deep and very controversial things. You said what you thought. And yet there were no fights. There were not even any cross words. No one was angry."
>
> He smiled brightly and lifted his shoulders.
>
> "We Latins are sometimes moved by our emotions. Or is it that we have had less experience with democracy? Anyway, I am impressed with this democracy here--how you, all who wish, can tell your ideas, and say what you want, and end it up by

being, it would seem, even better friends than before."[1]

This fundamentally important aspect of Christian Science personality has some rather interesting consequences and not infrequently comes into conflict with other traits. Despite its derivation from an ascetic Protestantism which, as in Calvinism, was much given to introspection in order to ascertain the state of grace, the development of the Christian Scientist personality type has been in the direction of so strong an inhibition of the emotions that the recognition of strong feelings, to say nothing of their close examination, has been barred as a threat to the individual's stability. This seems to be the basic reason for the dislike of what is called "sensationalism" and "emotionalism" (nouns with a negative connotation for Christian Scientists), of vulgarisms and obscene language in books and motion pictures which are reviewed. The language in which these defects are deplored is often "prim." The informed reader readily gathers that books and motion pictures of this nature are unsuited for

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[1] Ralph W. Cessna, "Politics and Emotions: Brazilian Amazed by 'Cool' U. S. Press Seminar," C.S.M., January 3, 1947, p. 7. The contrast between personality types molded by ascetic Protestantism and Roman Catholicism comes out clearly.

And the Monitor is aware of the quality it prizes. In each of a series of promotional advertisements this message appears: "Today, The Christian Science Monitor is doing its impersonal and enlightening work in more than 120 different lands . . . ." See, for example, the issue of January 27, 1949, The Home Forum.

Christian Scientists.[1]

The conflict between the need for affective neutrality and humanitarian impulses places the Christian Scientist in a dilemma. On the one hand the Monitor delights in printing humanitarian incidents which its readers from all over the world report in a column whose title faithfully reflects the Christian Science outlook, "I Record only the Sunny Hours," and whose symbol is a sundial. But on the other hand the Monitor's policy of either omitting news of disaster and other tragedies or dismissing them with inconspicuous notice deprives its readers (if they have no other news source) of opportunities for exercising their humanitarian impulses and admiring heroic deeds of rescue.[2]

I. SOME BUSINESS POLICIES

Up to this point the examination of the Monitor's contents has been confined to its handling of the news and other matters in which it is possible to probe for underlying value-attitudes. The result has been to confirm earlier conclusions about Christian Science personality characteristics and their resemblance to ascetic Protestant traits. But what about those who are responsible for the business policies of the Monitor? Despite its not being oriented toward profit it may be assumed that deficits are not preferred. Would this financial pressure tend to modify the ethical standards maintained in other departments? Furthermore, is it possible to interpret what evidence is available to the ordinary reader in the light of the preceding analysis?

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[1] Perhaps the aversion to emotional display on the part of the at least Protestant portion of moviegoers partially accounts for the fact that Hollywood focuses on action, on the externals of the social and physical environment. There is relatively little in the way of "think" pictures and those centering on the tragic.

It may be that the vogue of behaviorism in American psychology as the only real scientific psychology is motivated in part by this reluctance of an ascetic Protestant people to "recognize" the emotions.

[2] A minor feature of the Monitor and one connected with its affective neutrality as well as its attitude toward medicine is the welcome which it extends to news of anti-vivisection activities. Compare the discussion in Chapter Two of the ascetic Protestant attitude toward animals.

For present purposes the kinds of advertising which are not acceptable to the Monitor will be taken as an index to its business policies and to the personality traits they may reveal.

Mr. Villard's judgment will be relied upon as sufficient evidence for the Monitor's ethical standards. The newspaper takes great pains in carefully editing its advertising columns in order to protect its readers. It has the highest standards of any newspaper in the United States.[1]

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[1] Villard, 1944, p. 110.
"The Monitor rejects far more advertising than it accepts. No other publication in the world is anywhere near so choosy about whom it permits to purchase space. 'An advertisement in the Monitor,' one of its editors recently said, 'is pretty much of an endorsement.'" (Frazier, October 1, 1949, p. 25)

All subsequent references to Monitor regulations on advertising will be to Rate Card No. 28, issued and effective as of January 1, 1943. So far as this writer knows no important changes have been made in it since then except for the addition of accountancy to those occupations whose advertisements are not acceptable.[1]

It is immediately evident that the news comes first in so far as space is concerned; advertisements take what remains.

> No position sold or promised. As far as news requirements permit, requests of advertisers will be observed, but it should be understood that the Monitor is not obligated to consider such requests as a provision of a contract.

It is probable that few newspapers go so far as this:

> References are required of those seeking positions, offering personal services, or rooms to let.
>
> Not acceptable: Tea and coffee, tobacco, liquor; medical, surgical, or hygienic articles; food products, soaps, or other commodities, when advertised on a health basis; hotel, resort or travel advertising employing a health appeal; schools, camps, travel agencies, financial institutions established less than two years; firearms; complexion preparations claiming medical qualities; hair dyeing, face or body massage; tombstones, undertakers, cemeteries; chiropodists; dentists; oculists, opticians, optometrists; hearing aids;

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[1] This information was supplied by the Los Angeles advertising office on January 28, 1949. The reason for the change will be given below.

> lawyers, including patent attorneys; [accountants]; collection agencies; oil or mining propositions; political; adoption of children; animals in captivity; illustrations or text representing life or health as dependent upon weather conditions; securities of promotional enterprises or firms engaged in business of tobacco, liquor, or health products; partnership or investment of capital wanted; illustrations showing use of tobacco or liquor; abbreviation Xmas.

Discussion of the first four items, tea, coffee, tobacco and liquor, will be taken up later in two separate sections. The Monitor's religious doctrines which interpret illness as error, health as man's natural state, and always available through Christian Science techniques are explanation enough for the exclusion of "medical, surgical, or hygienic articles; food products, soaps, or other commodities, when advertised on a health basis; hotel, resort, or travel advertising employing a health appeal; . . . complexion preparations claiming medicinal qualities; hair dyeing,[1] face or body massage; . . . chiropodists; . . . hearing aids; . . . illustrations or text representing life or health as dependent upon weather conditions; . . ." But the theological basis for the exclusion implies in turn a certain attitude toward the achievement, or maintenance rather, of health. It is wholly unnecessary, and probably irreligious, for a Christian Scientist to depend upon external material things or forces for health. It is wholly within his own unaided power, his own internal spiritual resources, to maintain his physical body in its normal healthy functioning.[1] The Christian Scientist is independent of what he considers illusory and adventitious aids.

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[1] It is important to recognize that all kinds of cosmetic advertisements are acceptable if the health aspect is not mentioned; hair tinting or shampooing which brightens the hair is not excluded. Presumably, home permanents for naturally straight hair would have access to the Monitor pages. It is worth mentioning as bearing on the same point that orange juice ads, emphasizing vitamins, have appeared in the Monitor (for example, July 12, 1944, p. 10). Their food value is played up, not their therapeutic utility. Foods may be advertised; if they possess vitamins it may be mentioned. Thus Christian Scientists benefit from whatever paramagical effect they derive from the use of cosmetics and food with high vitamin content. Paramagic and Christian Science are, therefore, not antagonistic but complementary.

It seems that Christian Science can relieve chapping although there is apparently no objection to the use of lotions for this purpose since the Monitor accepts ads for them. Compare the Monitor lesson of December 5, 1945.

> . . . schools, camps, travel agencies, financial institutions established less than two years; . . . oil or mining propositions; . . . securities of promotional enterprises . . ; partnership or investment of capital wanted;

have in common a gambling element. Businesses which have been in operation for less than two years are considered riskier than those which have proved themselves over a longer period of time. The Monitor does not care to expose its readers to unnecessary risks when older establishments are available. The gambling element in the other propositions is too obvious to need comment. The Christian Scientist shuns gambling not only as an immoral act but as one in which the emotional tension over an unpredictable and uncontrollable future is too great for his mental and emotional serenity. The pages of the Monitor are always open to stories of anti-gambling reform movements.[1]

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[1] This interpretation seems to the writer to be essentially correct in its exposition of the Christian Science view. While it is true to say that a believer relies upon God's power in performing a healing, yet, since God and man are both spiritual and man uses divine forces, it follows that man relies upon his own inner resources. More will be said on this point in a later chapter.

The exclusion from the Monitor's pages of advertisements in behalf of tombstones, undertakers and cemeteries derives most obviously from the Christian Science denial of the reality of death and, more fundamentally, from the reactions of a personality passionately concentrated on overt activity oriented to the control of the physical and social environment.[2] The intensity of this attitude toward dynamic activity is such as to make the thought of death, the complete cessation of activity, more than ordinarily dreadful. It is from this reaction, common to humankind, that the concept of immortality arises; but the Christian Scientist's flat denial of the reality of death testifies to a greater revulsion against this brute fact.[1]

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[1] Compare the ascetic Protestant attitude toward gambling.

A recent instance which combines two favorite Monitor themes, feminine achievement and the suppression of gambling, is a profile, "Woman Mayor 'Cleans House'", of the mayor of Portland, Oregon, Dorothy McCullough Lee, and her vigorous enforcement of the anti-gambling laws (C.S.M., January 26, 1949, p. 3).

[2] It is this attitude which explains the Monitor's playing down of the plane crash which brought death to fourteen newspapermen including its own Charles Gratke and deleting the adjective ill-fated which the Associated Press had applied to the plane. It is this attitude which is beneath ". . . the Monitor's determination to avoid a pessimistic outlook." (Frazier, Collier's, October 1, 1949, p. 62)

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[1] All societies have stylized or culturally compulsive modes of expressing emotion in the crisis of death. In the United States dry-eyed grief seems to be more common among ascetic Protestants and especially Christian Scientists. (Compare the remark of the cemetery employee above.) While the Protestant United States, New England in particular, has long been noted for the variety of euphemisms for "to die," it has remained for the Christian Scientists to select and standardize a phrase which manages to endow this essentially passive event with an aura of activity: the Christian Scientist does not die; he "passes on." The *Monitor* uses this phrase almost to the exclusion of any other; it is recognized as almost its trademark. This sect's aversion to "to die," "died," etc. and the fact of death is bound up with the emotion-generating nature of death as well as its affront to and termination of the *active* personality. The same reasons are involved in the relative rarity of obituaries in the *Monitor* and the absence of birthdates in them and in career stories; age is a relentless adversary which the *Monitor* prefers to ignore.

The assignment of "pass on" for "to die" by the *New English Dictionary* (Supplement (vol. 11), 1933, p. 106) to an English authoress, Rose Macauley, in her book, *Potterism* (1920), is incorrect. The *Monitor* used the phrase as early as October 1, 1910, p. 12, and December 3, 1910, p. 2. Mrs. Eddy in *Miscellaneous Writings* (1897) uses it on p. 34, line 20 and p. 165, line 17. Perhaps one of the earliest appearances of the term, or one closely like it in meaning, is "passed onward" on a Plymouth, Massachusetts, tombstone in 1856. See Drew, 1894, p. 5. (I am indebted to Mr. B. A. Botkin for this reference.) The period covered in this work is from 1657 to about 1893. The internal evidence in Macauley's book points to Christian Science as the inspiration of "pass on."

A striking instance of the *Monitor's* resolute ignoring of death is given by its editorial reference to John G. Winant's suicide: "Compassion must mark his awkward exit." (November 6, 1947).

It would be hard to find a more extreme contrast of attitudes to sickness and death than that of the Christian

(Continued on the following page)

The prohibition of advertisements by dentists, oculists, opticians, and optometrists is a special case in that Mrs. Eddy herself used their services although they are material means for alleviating bodily disabilities which are really "errors of mortal mind." Eyesight is of especial importance to Christian Scientists because of the emphasis on studying the Bible and Mrs. Eddy's writings. When it comes to a choice between neglecting the latter and wearing glasses, glasses are worn. There are available at Reading Rooms and for sale large-type editions of Science and Health which are a great aid to those with failing vision. In not a few Reading Rooms a magnifying lens is kept at the desk for the convenience of readers, while the Monitor carries advertisements for them. The "support function" of reading the sacred writings outweighs the (apparent) infraction of a strict interpretation of religious doctrine.

Firearms are proscribed it would seem on two grounds;

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[1] (Continued from the previous page) Scientist and the Catholic. The latter, at least officially, regards them as divinely sent; he is passive toward them while the Christian Scientist actively fights them. Compare "Rules for a Sick Person," prayers to the Virgin Mary and St. Michael for a happy death and salvation, and the "Last Agony" prayer for the dying. (Manual of Prayers for the use of The Catholic Laity, The Official Prayer Book of the Catholic Church, 1888, 1916, pp. 459-475, 531).

The Christian Scientist's attitude to death is the very opposite of morbid, yet his extreme individualism cannot be doubted, two cultural items which Kluckhohn thinks go together (1944, pp. 67-68, note 97).

they are death-dealing instruments and symbolic of coercion, the element in human relations which is in opposition to the exchange of response so important to the Christian Scientist.

Collection agencies enter the scene when people fail to meet the honest obligations they have incurred; as such these agencies are witness to violation of accepted ethical norms as well as reminders of indebtedness. The Christian Scientist's abhorrence of debt is indicative of the importance of money as a surrogate for affectional response. Psychologically, a debt is an obligation to tender response when the creditor demands payment; since response does not come easily it is preferable not to incur debt or at least keep it to a minimum. Furthermore, collection agencies are symbolic of pressures unpleasantly reminiscent of or bordering upon coercion.

The adoption of children suggests altogether too many emotional difficulties for the Christian Scientist to regard it with equanimity, to say nothing of the implication of something beyond the capacity of his technique and the shady practices often associated with adoption.

The exclusion of advertisements dealing with animals in captivity is of a piece with the Monitor's anti-vivisectionism as part of its humanitarian propensities.

The abbreviation Xmas is frowned upon apparently because it lacks dignity. However, the affective significance of the cross for Christian Scientists and ascetic Protestants is believed to be involved; discussion will be postponed to the final chapter.

No special problem is presented by the barring of advertisements for securities "of firms engaged in business of tobacco, liquor, or health products." Since the Monitor is politically neutral its exclusion of political advertisements is understandable, to say nothing of the political passions that might be aroused.

The acceptability of life insurance company advertising raises an interesting problem. Why, in view of the steadfast exclusion of all thought of death (and its formal theological denial), should the Monitor welcome a form of insurance which brings forcibly home to the purchaser the inexorable event? The solution is indicated by examining the types of insurance which may not be advertised. In addition to annuities and life insurance the Monitor accepts fire and almost all kinds of automobile insurance advertising. But, it will not publish notices of health (or sickness), accident and personal liability insurance. While automobile insurance advertisements are invited the welcome is not extended to those featuring protection against personal injury, sickness or absence from work due to automobile accidents.[1]

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[1] According to information from the Los Angeles advertising office of the Monitor, January 28, 1949.

It is apparent that all the acceptable types of insurance are means of controlling or minimizing future risks; as such they represent prudent, rational, and foresighted behavior conformable to the Christian Scientist's dynamically oriented personality ideal. The nonbeliever may ask why this is not also true of the unacceptable types of insurance. But the purchase of insurance against sickness, accident, etc. would be an admission that Christian Science is ineffective as a protection for the believer's material body. Sickness and injury are "errors of mortal mind" which Christian Science is capable of correcting. Of course death, as the ultimate error, belongs in this category too; but until everyone has become a Christian Scientist and a virtuoso in its practice death will remain a stubborn error. If the nonbeliever should inquire why protection against injury to a believer's material house or car is permissible and protection against injury to the believer's equally material body is not, when Christian Science is capable of controlling the forces of nature, then the present writer must confess ignorance of the answer.

Before pursuing the problems involved in the Monitor's prohibition of coffee, tea, tobacco, and liquor advertisements, it is desirable to first discuss at this point the paper's attitude to socialized medicine because it is related to health insurance. It will be recalled that the Monitor conforms to exceedingly high standards of accuracy, impartiality and objectivity in its reporting and analysis of news it considers fit to print as well as in its editorializing. But the same standards do not apply to two issues: "socialized medicine" and alcohol; here the Monitor's impartiality and objectivity vanish. While its accuracy remains there is relatively little space for its exercise in presenting the views of the proponents of socialized medicine and alcohol, much less for the latter than the former. When a newspaper of the integrity of the Monitor finds it difficult or impossible to maintain its own standards then something of very great importance to it must be at stake. The case of alcohol will be dealt with in some detail later in a separate section.

Although socialized medicine, an exceedingly elastic concept, is a form of health insurance, nowhere does the Monitor attack its insurance aspect, even though it does question it. In the presentation of the case against the extension of the state into the field of medicine the Monitor concentrates almost exclusively upon the charges of cost, graft, malingering, bureaucracy, invasion of civil liberties, etc. On occasion space is given to a statement of opposing arguments and in these instances the story is as likely as not to be an Associated Press feature and not the product of a Monitor employee.[1] But over the last half dozen years or so and with the infrequent exception mentioned, the overwhelming bulk of Monitor articles is devoted to what the opponents of socialized medicine consider its evils. There is very little evidence of that scrupulous fairness in reporting and analysis of all sides of a problem which is the Monitor hallmark. The more usual story is typified by the completely one-sided case presented by the National Grange in its opposition to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for compulsory sickness insurance.[1] It is therefore ironic that the Monitor editorialized under the heading, "Sauce for the Goose--" against the Social Security Board's equally biased propaganda in behalf of this bill.[1]

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[1] One of these Monitor stories is by Mallory Browne who reported the pros and cons as they are seen in Britain, (Continued on the following page)

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[1] (Continued from the previous page) "'National Health Service' for Britain Scrutinized" (C.S.M., March 27, 1944, p. 5).

The same correspondent wrote (May 8, 1944, p. 3) on vaccination as optional in the British armed forces. The reader is left with the impression that vaccination is more harmful than beneficial, that the writer approves of its optional character, and regrets that not all British soldiers know of their option. Mr. Browne remarks in closing [wistfully or regretfully?] that it is "difficult to adduce any great evidence that inoculation is losing its popularity with the medical profession."

[1] "Grange Opposition Aroused to Sickness Insurance Bill" [anonymous staff correspondent] (March 31, 1944, p. 7). An argument wholly in favor of this bill such as that published by Senator James E. Murray in The New Republic on July 10, 1944, pp. 39-41, would probably not appear in the Monitor. [No comparison between these periodicals is intended.] It will print either news of attacks on socialized medicine or stories in which the arguments in its favor are coupled with those against it, for example, the story of January 24, 1949, p. 10.

The present writer is not interested in moralizing upon the Monitor's blind spot but, rather, in ascertaining its whys and wherefores. Obviously its religious beliefs are such as to prohibit public acknowledgment of facts concerning disease and its cure.[2] Disease is a fiction of incorrect belief; to publish information about it would strengthen the evil and expose the faith of its readers to unjustifiable undermining; it would perhaps be a form of Malicious Animal Magnetism. So the Monitor finds itself in the very curious position of joining forces with the American Medical Association in its onslaught against the encroachment of the Federal government upon the field of medicine. Surely this is an interesting extension of Mrs. Eddy's injunction not to speak disrespectfully of physicians. But if the Monitor is reluctant about publicizing news of disease,[3] it cannot deny that it exists, that is, that multitudes of nonbelievers persist in suffering from error. Furthermore, the paper cannot ignore socialized medicine by excluding all mention of it from its columns; after all socialized medicine affects the public welfare while proposed state and federal legislation on the subject is important and legitimate news. In addition should such legislation be enacted Christian Scientists would be compelled to contribute, perhaps through salary deductions as well as indirect taxes, to the support of forms of medical treatment that are repugnant to their religious convictions. Therefore the Monitor must oppose socialized medicine and publish unfavorable stories about it.

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[1] C.S.M., April 14, 1944.

[2] See Frazier's observations on the exclusion of penicillin from its columns.

[3] It is not backward in printing stories about the failures of medicine. It headlined an AP dispatch from Tokyo about infant deaths from faulty anti-diphtheria serum, "Injections of Serum Kill More in Japan" (December 23, 1948, p. 5); also another under the heading "Surgeon Mistaken; Damages Awarded" (July 31, 1948, p. 5).

The support which the Monitor extends to the American Medical Association by publicizing its activities against socialized medicine involves a curious point. The business office excludes all kinds of health insurance while admitting most other types of insurance. But the paper finds itself supporting what is called health insurance because the AMA has reluctantly espoused voluntary health insurance as preferable to the compulsory methods of state medicine.[1] It is now possible to see why The Christian Science Monitor should be favorably inclined to the position taken by organized medicine. The coercive aspect involved in socialized medicine is repugnant to the Christian Scientist with his deeprooted preference for the voluntary or "exchange" type of social relationship. In addition there is his profound valuation of co-operative activity if it springs from the voluntary choice of independent and responsible individuals.[1] And finally but not least in importance is the probably massive impact on a particularly law-respecting group of the symbol of formal United States government acknowledgment of the fact of disease and its endorsement of compulsory sickness insurance.[2]

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[1] The AMA version of voluntary health insurance is suspected to be merely a stopgap designed to rebut the charge that its attitude toward a national health program is wholly negative. See, for example, Consumers Reports, April 1949, pp. 177-178.

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[1] George Ericson, the Monitor's Financial Editor, probably represents its values in this matter as well as they can be.

"The reason that this country faces the prospect of a compulsory health insurance system, together with other aspects of social security, is that it is part and parcel of the drift to the Left everywhere in the world; it is part of the demand for security with concomitant loss of liberty; it is the cry for more services by the state, paid for by progressive taxation levied on the principle of ability to pay; it is an illustration of the shifting of personal responsibility for one's own welfare to the shoulders of the state; it is evidence of the gradual attrition undermining the sturdy philosophy that has made this country great; it is the further embracing of a paternalism which shrinks the spirit and begrudges the independence of those who wish to stand unaided on their own feet." (February 21, 1949, p. 13.)

[2] Tawney's remark in another connection is apropos: "Moderate interest, if without legal protection, was at any rate not unlawful, and it is difficult to damn with conviction vices of which the degrees have been adjusted on a sliding scale by an Act of Parliament." (1938, p. 167.)

II. GUM, COFFEE, TEA, AND TOBACCO

It will be recalled that the Monitor excludes advertisements for coffee, tea, tobacco, and alcohol. It is readily apparent that these items fall into two classifications, stimulants and sedatives. As a dynamic personality type there would seem to be no psychological reason for the Christian Science antagonism to coffee and tea. Their pharmacological effects are in the direction of providing an increase of energy which it might seem would be a welcome addition to the resources of an active personality. But it is an essential principle of Christian Science that anyone can be wholly efficient, active, and alert without artificial aid, through the exercise of the disciplined and organized will in conjunction with Christian Science techniques. The use of stimulants would be a tacit admission that application of these techniques had been inadequate; otherwise stimulants would be unnecessary. However, it would seem likely that a prohibition based solely on theological grounds would tend to be more laxly observed than one which was re-enforced by psychological motives as well. It is this writer's impression that the prohibition against stimulants is less carefully observed than that against the sedatives while the violations of the former meet with less indignation than violations of the latter.

It is consonant with the aversion to stimulants that the Monitor does feel free to accept coffee advertisements which specifically state that the product is not a stimulant because 97% of the caffeine has been removed.[1] But the exception which the Christian Scientist takes to stimulants is more apparent than real. The Rate Card does not specifically exclude chocolate and cocoa advertisements. Indeed, baking chocolate has been advertised, while there is every reason to believe that advertisements featuring hot chocolate as a wholesome drink would be accepted so long as the health aspect were not mentioned. Mrs. Eddy herself seems to have been fond of chocolate if one may accept as evidence her possession of a chocolate service.[2] It is evident that she was not aware of the chemical and pharmacological similarity of theobromine (in chocolate), theophylline (in tea), and caffeine (in coffee). Chemically, theobromine is 3.7 dimethylxanthine, theophylline 1.3 dimethylxanthine, and caffeine 1.3.7 trimethylxanthine. All three exert, although in varying degrees, their main pharmacological actions on five different tissues. They (1) stimulate the central nervous system (theobromine has very little effect in this respect, however), (2) cause diuresis by direct renal action, (3) are vasodilators and somewhat antispasmodic for certain other smooth muscles, (4) are cardiac stimulants, and (5) stimulate skeletal muscle by direct peripheral action. It is rather ironic in view of the horror with which alcohol is regarded by Christian Scientists that the drug which acts precisely counter to it has also been banned.

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[1] See, for example, the Sanka coffee advertisements of January 20, 1945, Magazine section, p. 14 and January 29, 1949, Magazine section, p. 11.

[2] Wilbur, p. 348.

> Caffeine has rightly been said to stimulate those functions depressed by alcohol and these two drugs may be viewed as pharmacological antagonists.[1]

It may be that the popular misconception of alcohol as a stimulant was responsible for the prohibition of coffee and tea as stimulants. In actuality alcohol is a depressant and in that respect alone would be repugnant to the Christian Scientist.

Lest it be thought that Christian Scientists take their religion lightly in regard to stimulant beverages because only a matter of doctrine is involved, the following incident is enlightening. Some time in April 1942 the Monitor decided to accept Coca Cola advertisements after chemical analysis had shown that there was no caffeine present. The readers did not know this and their protests were not slow in forthcoming. Since then no more Coca Cola advertisements have been accepted.

If such is the attitude to stimulants what may it be to sedatives? Three will be discussed starting with the mildest, chewing gum, and proceeding to the most potent, alcohol.

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[1] The Therapeutics of Internal Diseases, vol. 2, 1940, p. 64 and pp. 62-67 for a discussion of the xanthine group; also pp. 41, 49-50.

Experiment has shown that chewing gum reduces restlessness, feeling of strain and fatigue at "no actual cost to the organism."[1] It is of particular interest with reference to the Christian Science attitude to work that more energy is put into the activities of the main occupation while engaged in chewing. There is less restlessness and the energy of the chewing passes over, in part, into the main work.[2] Hollingworth's conclusion concurs with popular opinion: chewing gum lowers tension.

> In a sense this is only a confirmation of the testimony of the chronic pipesmoker, whistler, gum chewer and watch chain twiddler.
>
> Perhaps these results also throw some light on the striking fact that during the past ten or more 'tense' years the chicle processors have enjoyed their greatest prosperity.[3]

What was true of the decade ending in 1939 was even more true of the war years. In a significantly titled article, "Chewing Gum Is a War Material," Fortune for January 1943 remarks that an

> . . . elegant characteristic of the gum business has been its stability. Throughout the depression, perhaps because people chew more gum under

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[1] Hollingworth, 1939.

[2] Idem.

[3] Idem.

> stress, the demand for gum was almost as steady as the demand for cigarettes.

While

> . . . in actual combat, when smoking is prohibited, it substitutes for cigarettes in reducing nervous tension.[1]

And interestingly enough the chewing gum business was started and chewing gum became popular in the New England of the 1870's[2] when Christian Science was in its infancy.

With this background it may or may not be significant that the Los Angeles advertising office of the Monitor received an acceptance memo from Boston dated December 4, 1941 concerning the acceptability of gum advertisements.[3] It would seem likely that the decision to accept this type of advertisement occurred within a month or so of the attack on Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941). Could the rising tension of the period before the entrance of the United States into the war have played a part in this decision?[4] Inquiry of the Monitor did not prove helpful. In reply the Advertising Supervisor confirmed the fact that chewing gum advertising was welcome and enclosed a tear sheet showing a Clark's Chewing Gum spread in color on page 13 of the Magazine section for November 27, 1943. But when the present writer inquired whether a policy change had occurred with reference to chewing gum and Coca Cola advertising, the reply tacitly admitted the fact but refrained from giving the information requested because "it might prove to be a controversial subject."[1] Since that time no advertisement for gum has been published in the *Monitor*.

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[1] Pp. 99, 122.

[2] Allen, 1938.

[3] According to information from this office.

[4] It is interesting that the Coca Cola advertisement appeared in April (?), 1942.

Unlike the stimulants discussed above there are no medicinal uses for one of tobacco's principal ingredients, nicotine. It acts on the central and peripheral nervous systems, first stimulating and then paralyzing them.[2] But while this is true of the effects of the *alkaloid* the evidence for and against the effects of tobacco *smoking* is very indefinite, although it does provide a motor outlet for tensions and nervousness.[3]

Given this effect and placing it against the background of certain structural changes in the American economy, it is possible to understand the rapid rise in the popularity of tobacco smoking. Prior to the 1870's the general character of gainful employment in the United States was not subject to violent or sweeping change. But

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[1] In a letter to the author from R. W. McCurdy dated April 27, 1944.

[2] *Therapeutics of Internal Diseases*, 2:423.

[3] Carlson and Johnson, 1948, pp. 357-358.

> During the 1870's and 1880's a tremendous acceleration in the rate of economic and industrial development introduced a new element of continual change in the nature of the work performed and in the distribution of the working population among expanding industries and shifting occupations.[1]

From 1870 to 1930 the growth of population was outstripped by the growth in the number of gainfully employed.[2] The hitherto normal patterns had been disrupted and both the modes and tempo of work and the absolute and relative number of workers had increased. The result it seems probable to suppose was a considerable rise in tension among men and women who were prepared to find smoking, and chewing gum, a congenial outlet for this tension. Between 1900 and 1935 cigarette consumption multiplied over forty-eight times.[3]

> A considerable increase--occurred during the war years 1914 to 1919. Per capita consumption more than doubled itself during this period. It jumped from 169.5 cigarettes in 1914 to 426.4 cigarettes in 1919. The conclusion that one must draw, nevertheless, is that cigarettes were becoming fashionable prior to the World War. This event, contrary to the usual belief, was not responsible for the shift to the cigarette. The war, however, did for a short time accelerate the demand for cigarettes and extend the conditions responsible for a further

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[1] Recent Social Trends, 1934, p. 269.

[2] Ibid., p. 271.

[3] Gottsegen, 1940, p. 26.

expansion of the cigarette market.[1]

> The smoking of tobacco was coeval with the English settlement in America. The early colonists, the Puritans, as well as the Virginians, learnt pipe-smoking along with many other habits, from the Indians.[2]

In England, despite opposition,

> . . . tobacco continued in popularity. Roundheads loved the weed as well as the Cavalier. Even Puritans and Quakers smoked. 'Parsons could no more write a sermon without a pipe in their mouths than a concordance in their hands.' Throughout the middle of the 17th century smoking continued its hold upon all classes of society.[3]

Interestingly enough, the supposed medicinal or prophylactic qualities of tobacco played a major part in its introduction.[4] In view of the analysis in the preceding chapters of the relatively high tension level among ascetic Protestants, the popularity of tobacco among Puritans and Quakers is not surprising.

> It was said of colonial New England women that they 'smoke in Bed, Smoke as they Knead their Bread, Smoke whilst they're Cooking;' and of modern women that they are only admonished by brave husbands when 'dropping ashes in the baby's eyes.'

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[1] Ibid., pp. 28-29. Cf. also Ernie Pyle's vignette of July 18, 1944 in the Los Angeles Daily News. The importance of tobacco as a means of reducing tension is witnessed by its inclusion (and chewing gum also) in the military food rations. The same interpretation applies to the cigarette "money" on the European black markets and the large and costly purchases of tobacco by England in the depths of her economic struggle for survival.

[2] Gottsegen, p. 139.

[3] Ibid., p. 117.

[4] Ibid., p. 137.

> Between these two ends of a fashion cycle, the history of women smoking is largely the rise and decline of a smoking taboo.[1]

But simultaneously with the New England devotion to tobacco there appeared opposition,[2] (The same phenomenon will be met with in the discussion of alcohol.) starting as early as 1628 in Massachusetts and with many laws passed between 1640 and 1647 in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and others in New Haven and New Hampshire.[3] Only by 1880 was the old Boston law against smoking on the streets repealed. The Methodists' councils

> . . . decided to license and to ordain no candidate for the ministry who used tobacco in any form or to appoint any professor to its university who similarly did not abstain.[4]

By 1909 eleven states had anti-cigarette legislation.

> The reform movements carried through the war period and for tobacco reached its height in 1921, when over 92 measures affecting tobacco smokers and the tobacco industry were introduced in the legislation of 28 states.[5]

The relation between ascetic Protestant opposition to tobacco, as one among a number of reform movements, and the Protestant personality is indicated by the association of this opposition with a distinct humanitarian element.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 147.

[2] Ibid., p. 152.

[3] Ibid., p. 153.

[4] Idem.

[5] Ibid., pp. 153-155.

The ambivalent pull and tug within this personality furnishes simultaneously reasons for the use and condemnation of tobacco as well as chewing gum and liquor.[2] The tensions created by a high degree of emotional discipline in combination with elevated aspiration levels require outlets such as are provided by chewing, smoking, and drinking; but the value-attitudes which define the ideal personality as strongly disciplined are in conflict with any loosening of emotional control as a threat to the stability of the personality. But the animus against smoking and alcohol is also related to what is felt to be their disintegrating effect upon working efficiency as well as self-discipline, both highly respected Protestant values. Henry Ford, an excellent representative of the type, expresses the moral condemnation of these habits in a single revealing sentence:

> The world of today needs men, not whose minds and will power have been weakened and destroyed by the desire and craving for alcohol and tobacco but instead men with initiative and vigor,

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[2] So close an observer of New England life as Oliver Wendell Holmes had noted as early as 1867 the association or alternative of tobacco and alcohol for men caught in an emotional conflict (Oberndorf, 1944, p. 185).

whose mentality is untainted by ruinous habits.[1]

While Mrs. Eddy's condemnation of tobacco may have been due to its association in her day with "loose" women, that would not explain its prohibition for Christian Scientists of both sexes. It is, however, possible to sense in her writings the same moral repugnance for both habits that Henry Ford displayed. They condemn smoking and drinking in part for destroying efficiency and capacity for work, the latter being looked upon not as an unavoidable burden but as an opportunity for creation and self-expression.[2]

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[1] The Case Against the Little White Slaver (vol. 1, 2, 3, and 4), compiled and published by Henry Ford, 1914, facing p. 76.

[2] The resemblance between Mrs. Eddy and Henry Ford goes much further. Both had a genius for rational organization, while Ford's will to power, similar to Mrs. Eddy's, prevented delegation of authority and responsibility to the degree that efficient organization might have indicated; both found it impossible to get along with individuals who had a will of their own and insisted upon expressing it in opposition; both attempted to dictate the habits and thoughts of those over whom they exercised control; indeed, they resembled each other in facial and bodily build. It is suggestive of the possible relations among religious belief, personality, and constitutional typology that prominent exemplars of ascetic Protestant personality and values are so often inclined to spareness. Compare, for example, Henry Ford, Mrs. Eddy, Frances Willard, Carry Nation, Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, and Truman, Sir Stafford Cripps, Sir Oliver Franks, the cartoonist's stock figure of the prohibitionist, the stereotype of the Puritan, and the figures in Grant Wood's American Gothic--all are inclined to be lean of face and figure. Whether the correlation, if correlation there should be, is due to this constitutional type's selectivity among certain kinds of religious doctrines and personalities oriented toward dynamic control of the environment, or whether the high tension level generated

(Continued on the following page)

III. ALCOHOL

The pharmacological effects of alcohol provide the solution to the attitudes of ascetic Protestantism in general and Christian Science in particular when their psychological structures and personality ideals are taken into consideration. Alcohol is a central nervous system depressant. Among the induced psychic changes are a great increase in confidence,

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[2] (Continued from the previous page) by these doctrines, their family patterns and personality types affects the rate of metabolism and thus the tendency to spareness, or whether other factors are involved--all these are problems to which the immature state of constitutional and personality typologies has as yet no solution. As an addendum it may be recorded that the writer has yet to see at Christian Science services or in Reading Rooms anyone who could be properly called stout; the general impression is that the members of this sect are typically inclined toward the thin, spare type.

Henry A. Wallace is another representative of the ascetic Protestant type who illustrates admirably a number of points made in previous chapters. Reared in a strictly Calvinistic church, United Presbyterian, he later joined the Episcopalian; ". . . he became a high Episcopalian, a characteristic compromise between Calvinism and Roman Catholicism." (Macdonald, 1947, p. 118) Wallace is a vegetarian and teetotaler; a "health crank"--"a peculiarly Anglo-Saxon form of eccentricity" (pp. 124-125). He goes in for ". . . strange creeds in which the scientific and the supernatural are blended. 'His faith . . . seems to be an amalgam of Buddhism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism and Eddyism.'" (p. 118) He is "a cold fish," "not 'a good mixer'" (pp. 134-135.) Wallace's combination of food faddism and religious belief is present in another representative figure with similar background, Frances Willard. See Mary Earhart, 1944, p. 307, for her subject's typical association of transcendentalism, theosophy, mysticism, spiritualism with temperance and vegetarianism. Here also paramagic and religious doctrines blend in their support function.

blunting of memory, removal of inhibitions and a tendency to impulsive action. Now there is no good reason why the ascetic Protestant should object either to an increase in confidence or a blunting of memories if they are unpleasant. But there is reason indeed for him to feel anxious about the removal of inhibitions and impulsive action for his personality is based upon inhibition, upon distrust of impulse and upon the deliberate control of the impulsive life in behalf of a rational organization of life oriented to some kind of achievement. But the incautious use of alcohol tends to interfere with achievement, especially when close co-ordination of the faculties is involved. Beyond this fear of alcohol, however, and re-enforcing it is its temptation for the ascetic Protestant. The very release from the rational control of one's life, the freeing of the impulse life, the venting of inhibitions and repressed aggressions are tempting in the degree that they are strenuously maintained.[1] And it is because the temptations are so dangerous and the consequences so devastating in terms of the personality ideal that the ascetic Protestant takes an uncompromising position against the use of alcohol.

Linton has observed that

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[1] How tempting they are and how prevalent may be the release in certain fundamentalist regions are suggested by Gunther, 1947, pp. 667-670, and Tozier, 1941, pp. 334-336.

> . . . most Protestant sects feel that it is improper for a pastor to smoke or drink even in moderation and when off duty.[1]

The observation is correct but the author is not concerned with its explanation. The devout Protestant is never "off duty"; he is always in the fight to conform to a personality ideal which prizes emotional discipline as among its primary values. It is a value and an ideal which is relatively very much less prominent in the personality structure of Judaism and Catholicism.[2] If the teacher in the United States, especially in the Bible Belt, is "cabined, cribbed and confined" by similar expectations concerning drinking, smoking, social activities, etc. then it is because teachers are conceived to be exemplars of this same Protestant personality ideal, despite and perhaps because parents do not strictly conform to it. It is because of the profound importance of emotional control that ascetic Protestants manifest such moral and emotional intensity in their roles as prohibitionists. They feel misgivings over any letdown in discipline, any giving in to the "appetites," as a sign of moral weakness. The upright person is bound to exercise control over himself; not to do so is shameful weakness and morally reprehensible. Tobacco and liquor represent chinks in the armor of impulse control, weaknesses of the flesh which lead to delinquency and hinder social and moral improvement, impede the creation of the City of God on Earth. The moving forces back of the temperance movement are the ascetic Protestant sects, especially those that are fundamentalist in outlook.[1] While the financial, economic, social, and moral costs of alcoholism figure prominently in the temperance campaign, the psychological appeal is to the basic value-attitude that holds emotional discipline to be a great good in itself and to the anxiety aroused by any threat to the impairment of this discipline. In addition there may be some element of hidden envy of those who do relax their discipline.

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[1] 1945, p. 69.

[2] The motion pictures, Going My Way and The Great John L, portray drinking activities by priests which, however natural for Catholics, would offend Protestant sensibilities were they to be associated with ministers.

It is suggested that the analysis in the preceding paragraphs of this section serves to clarify and unify a congeries of disconnected observations and hints as to the motivation of prohibitionists in a paper by Alfred McClung Lee.[1] Prohibition is indeed a form of Protestant reforming energy but not of all forms of Protestantism, only of ascetic Protestantism; neither Lutheranism, Episcopalianism, nor Anglicanism may be included in this category because they are not deeply marked by emotional inhibition. If the Episcopalians like the Roman Catholics, and the Jews for that matter, do not show any "general enthusiasm for prohibition" and are called "tissue-paper Catholics,"[2] it is because prohibition does not have for them the same psychological and moral significance. It is not the fact that prohibitionists often are rural and village people but that they are ascetic Protestants which accounts for their anti-alcoholic zeal.[3] It would be rather difficult to drum up any important abstinence movement among Italian or French rural folk, or for that matter among American Catholic farmers. Furthermore, in view of the middle-class character of the American businessman and the influence of ascetic Protestantism in his personality formation,[1] it is not merely a question of rational consideration of economic and political interests which motivates employers in their concern over the drinking habits of their employees.[2] The motivation of those active in the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League and the reasons why large contributors to political campaigns could use the dry issue to distract attention from other issues are not given much attention,[3] nor why *prohibition* should become part of the American people's war idealism.[4] The psychological congruence of the "fanaticism" of those dedicated to campaigns in behalf of prohibition and Sunday observance and those against tobacco, swearing, and gambling seems to have escaped Lee in his discussion of the advocates of the prohibition movement.[5] Perhaps the only hints that relate directly to the fundamentally important factor of emotional discipline lie in a couple of sentences in the discussion of the appeal of the "Dry philosophy":

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[1] If in an earlier day another attitude toward alcohol was taken it is one which is rarely if ever heard in Protestant temperance circles; perhaps experience has taught them otherwise. "Increase Mather observed concretely that drink is itself 'a good creature' to be received with thankfulness, 'the wine is from God, but the Drunkard is from the Devil.'" (Perry Miller, 1939, p. 42). In other words, loss of emotional control is the evil. By an extension of abhorred result to cause liquor is raised almost to the dignity of the Devil among the more earnest prohibitionists, notably the Christian Scientists to whom emotional control is so important.

John Wesley's and Methodism's antagonism to alcohol (and gambling) has long been known (Edwards, 1935, pp. 133-136). His objection to elaborate and costly dress (pp. 136-138) is suggestive in view of the latter's often paramagical function.

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[1] 1944, pp. 65-77.

[2] Ibid., p. 67.

[3] Idem.

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[1] (For a remarkable resemblance between the executive and the present writer's conception of the ascetic Protestant personality see Henry, 1949, pp. 286-291.)

[2] *Idem*. Compare the quotation above from Henry Ford's pamphlet.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 68.

[4] *Idem*.

[5] *Ibid*., pp. 72-74.

> Dry philosophy permits some to take that way [regression] of experiencing again some of the joys associated with a strongly disciplined home.
> . . .
>
> It [mysticism, flight from the everyday world] derives in the case of Dry philosophy from certain [?] religious conceptions, theological theorizings, and psychological needs, and it has as one of its symptoms and characteristics a special language, somewhat different in meaning and detail from that defined in the ordinary dictionary.[1]

A study which has proved useful to the author quoted and the present writer is particularly serviceable at this point because it can be used to bring out what the latter feels is the significant difference between Protestants and Catholics as to alcohol and affords an instructive instance of Monitor reporting which does not conform to its own high standards. Alcohol, it may be recalled, is, with socialized medicine, among the subjects which the Monitor handles in a seriously discriminatory manner.

It was discovered that

> Few [elementary and high school] textbooks, however, mention emotional disturbances as a cause of excessive drinking. This reflects the attitude common to most of these books, that inebriety is rather a cause of emotional disturbance than a result of it.[2]

This modern psychological and sociological commonplace, that alcoholism is a symptom rather than a cause, is, however, a fact which the Monitor rarely points out. The position which it does present is the popular one that alcoholism is the cause of emotional disturbances and alcohol properly accountable for the social burden attributed to it.[1] And yet it is difficult to believe that the paper's editors, staff writers, and correspondents do not know otherwise. They are apparently well acquainted with and frequently report the work of the Yale University School for Alcohol Studies. Indeed a staff writer bases a story upon Roe's survey and quotes from the very page on which the preceding quotation appears. What is quoted is the fact that alcohol is not habit forming in the sense of morphine and cocaine.[2] And while he also reports that alcohol is a depressant and not a stimulant, that it lacks minerals, vitamins, and proteins, that it interferes with normal thinking, that its chief effect is the "removal of inhibitions comparable to the removing of brakes," and that alcoholism is not hereditary, Mr. Carr carefully refrains from reporting what appears to be almost a taboo: drunkenness is a result and not the cause of insufficient emotional stability.

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[1] P. 75. Which conceptions, theorizings and needs?

[2] Anne Roe, 1943, Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, pp. 32-33; italics supplied.

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[1] One of the rare instances in which the commonplace does make the Monitor pages is a story by Staff Correspondent Alice Myers, "Temperance Council Sifts Facts on Social Drinking," April 30, 1949, p. 11. A psychiatrist is reported as stating that alcoholism is a "symptom rather than a disease," that the underlying dissatisfactions must be unearthed and a new attitude toward life attained.

[2] "Alcohol Facts Need More Notice in Schools," November 13, 1943, p. 5.

The Monitor indicates its evaluation of the news by publishing on page one a story under the headline, "Hereditary Factor Ruled Out As Prelude to Alcoholism."[1] The author gives an excellent summary of the important points made by Roe (described as "one of the leading research experts in the field of alcoholism") bearing upon the nonhereditary character of alcoholism. Why should the Monitor publicize this as good and important news? An editorial published three weeks later[2] and based upon Roe's work provides the answer. Often the inebriate feels it useless to try to reform because he is doomed by heredity. Though it may be hard to throw off the influence of early alcoholic home associations, "still this may be a good deal easier than running up against what many call inescapable fate." The dynamic nature of the Christian Scientist revolts against the notion of man's being a helpless tool of fate; he has at least the possibility of controlling his environment, even to the extent of overcoming childhood influences, however difficult this may be. The Christian

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[1] July 17, 1944, pp. 1, 4; surely an unusually prominent place for this kind of news.

[2] August 7, 1944.

Scientist cannot really admit that emotional control and the exercise of will are not sufficient to accomplish whatever man desires, for these traits are fundamental to his personality, success, and religion.

The Protestant conception of life-long unremitting *self*-discipline as the ideal is brought out by Roe in the survey already cited.

> . . . *most* of the remarks [in the texts studied] about alcoholic euphoria, or relaxation, or the feeling of relief from pain or fatigue, are accomplished, explicitly or implicitly, by the idea that to attain such a state is *invariably* undesirable.[1]

It is impossible to attribute this pervasive value-judgment to Jewish or Catholic influence because it is foreign to both. Catholic authorities mean *moderation* not teetotalism when they use the term "temperance."

> . . . the general position [of Catholic authorities] that alcohol is one of God's creations *and* is therefore not inherently evil, but can be abused, is rather more widespread than the [teetotalist] attitude exemplified in Fall River and Philadelphia [parochial schools].[2]

In many Catholic schools the aim is *not abstinence* and the teaching is directed toward *moderation*, but in the textbooks studied by Roe, almost without exception, the only goal is abstinence.[1]

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[1] P. 62; italics added.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 20. This Catholic attitude is similar to that of Increase Mather already cited; therefore Protestant "theological theorizing" probably plays an insignificant part in the prohibitionist's attitude.

Perhaps one of the most striking manifestations of the difference between ascetic Protestantism and Roman Catholicism on this issue is recounted in this news item:

> Southern Methodist University has refused to accept a check for $30,000 from Dallas retail liquor dealers.
>
> The executive committee of the S.M.U. Board of Trustees followed the lead of Baylor Baptist institutions in Dallas which recently turned down a similar check for $25,000.
>
> The action by the two institutions followed issuance of a resolution by the Executive Committee of the United Texas Drys stating that 'contributions from the legalized liquor traffic to Christian institutions should be discouraged.'
>
> Meanwhile, Holmes Green, Vice-Chairman of St. Paul Catholic Hospital's current drive for funds, said St. Paul had no intention of turning down a $10,000 check presented by the liquor dealers.
>
> In a statement, Frank L. McNeny, chairman of the executive committee of the S.M.U. board, said: 'It was the unanimous decision of the committee that in view of all the issues involved, the gift be declined.'[2]

It will be noted that there is some difference of opinion as to what constitutes proper Christian conduct as between Protestants and Catholics. There is also disagreement within

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[1] Ibid., p. 24.

[2] AP dispatch, C.S.M., January 24, 1945.

Protestantism about biblical interpretation, for example:

> Juice of the Grape
>
> Is grape juice a proper substitute for wine at Holy Communion? In England last week, the Rev. M. B. Morgan told the lower house of the Convocation of Canterbury: 'The Baptists, I understand, make it a condition of membership that the members shall be teetotalers.' 'Shame!' cried indignant members. Said the Venerable Percy Hartill, Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Trent: 'Wine properly so called means fermented grape juice and not just grape juice . . . It is simply a question of whether the Church dares . . . to vary what our Lord appointed as the outward sign.'
>
> Then the members voted, 82 to 44, that the Church of England's Communion wine should continue to be 'pure, fermented juice of the grape--good and wholesome.'[1]

But it is not alone the Baptists who use grape juice in Communion; they are joined by the Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians, with the Lutherans and Episcopalians taking the Anglican position.[2] It is precisely the latter three which are, in the sense of the present study, farthest removed from asceticism among the Protestant churches.[3] If it were not for the fact that there seems to be an inverse correlation, however approximate, between the emotional discipline characteristic of a denomination and its ritualism, there would be little interest in this exegetical detail. The differing interpretations might be dismissed as one of innumerable instances of the process of theological development in which inconvenient passages in sacred writings are ignored or explained away, interpreted out of context, allegorized and somehow bent to changing dogmatic and other interests in religious and quasi-religious faiths.

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[1] Time, January 24, 1949, p. 63. (The writer cannot recall any mention of this bit of religious news in the Monitor for this period.) This as well as Increase Mather's and other Puritan divines' position is like that of the Catholic church and would seem to dispose of the explanation sometimes advanced for the Protestant dislike of wine or liquor, and hence its prohibition attitude, as due to the hatred of Catholicism which is then extended to wine as a part of Catholic ritual. See Gunther, p. 669.

[2] Life, November 10, 1947, p. 126: "Protestant Ritual."

[3] This distinction among Protestant churches will come up again in the last chapter in a discussion of the cross.

Only one excursion into the dangerous wilds of biblical exegesis will be essayed here, and only because some illumination is to be gained. The following quotation is an advertisement for Mrs. Eddy's _Science and Health_.[1]

> Jacob's Angel and Ours
>
> Jacob held on to his angel--heard the angelic voice of divine Love in all its liberating power--and thus discovered _within himself_ the transforming possibilities of spiritual understanding.
>
> This is made wonderfully clear by an inspiring passage in the Christian Science textbook (pp. 308, 309), which shows that we in this present day can have the same transforming experience, and that it will release, renew, and rename us, just as it did Jacob.

The reference is to Genesis 32:24-32 where "divine Love" manifested itself by maiming Jacob and then blessing him. A religious dictionary's summary of the context and literal meaning of the passages involved will bring out the peculiarly Christian Science differentiating element.

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[1] C.S.M., February 8, 1949, p. 6; italics _not_ added.

> Jacob had manifestations of the divine favor at Mahanaim and on the Jabbok, where a man wrestled with him until break of day, *showed his superiority to Jacob by disabling him by a touch* and before departing blessed him, saying: Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel; for thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast prevailed. . . . This event proved a crisis in the life of Jacob.
>
> *Heretofore he had been trusting to his own strength and shrewdness for success. He now learns that his own strength is of no avail in wrestling with God* and that he must resort to prayer for the blessing.[1]

As God or an emissary of God the man was evidently superior to Jacob whose blessing must be interpreted as having been *meant* for him after a test; otherwise a not unimportant change in the traditional Western conception of God is implied. The blessing was a nonempirical *addition* to Jacob's own resources, else it would be unnecessary to ask for it, while the transaction itself could hardly be realistically described as loving if it is taken in its normal sense. But the Christian Scientist's need for an inexhaustible source of affection is coupled with the conviction of the individual's unaided capacity to control his environment and attain his ends. And so strong are these needs and this conviction that contradictory passages of Holy Writ are made to conform. It is of the greatest significance that the crucial contradiction is unconsciously yet unerringly emphasized by the advertisement itself when it italicized the phrase "within himself," for it is precisely from without that Jacob's blessing came.[1]

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[1] *The Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*, 1944, p. 228; italics added. This work, incidentally, is copyrighted by a Presbyterian organization.

The inference which the present writer draws from the pronounced Christian Science emphasis on the individual as capable of controlling himself and his environment in order to achieve by himself his purposes is that this factor plays an important part in the slighting of alcoholism as a symptom in the Monitor news stories. It is inadmissible, it would seem, that loss of emotional control is often unavoidable, that the strains arising from social relationships break down emotional discipline and that resort to alcohol can be a refuge. It is for this reason that the paper so seldom reports this side of the problem.[2] The only news item in which this aspect is played up clearly that the writer has been able to find during the period of his study is the following; and then, be it noted, the corrective albeit co-operative element is stressed:

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[1] Mrs. Eddy herself recognized this in Science and Health; but the disabling of the sinew in Jacob's thigh is interpreted as the elimination of the strength of Jacob's error.

[2] That is, if one's values define alcoholism as such.

> Society must be 'alcohol-proof' is the opinion of William G. Mather [appropriately enough!], Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at Pennsylvania State College, who addressed the Council on Christian Social Progress of the Northern Baptist Convention in session here.
>
> 'As we build our cities so that they are fireproof, so we must rebuild our society that persons can find peace, financial security, happiness in marriage, and general success in the living of their lives without the necessity of turning to alcohol to dull the bitter edge of failure.' Professor Mather stated.
>
> 'Alcoholism is often the symptom of a basic nutritional deficiency which must be examined and corrected if the person is to be rehabilitated,' Dr. E. M. Jellinek, director of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies, said in his address to the Council."[1]

The preferred news story is the one which warns of the peril of social drinking,[2] or describes an anti-alcohol policy,[3] or recounts the harm to the individual due to excessive drinking,[1] or the political corruption charged to the liquor interests.[2]

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[1] "Need of Society Without Alcohol Told to Baptists," May 22, 1947, p. 2.

[2] For example, "Harvard Study Exposes Peril in So-Called Social Drinking" (August 1, 1944, p. 7). In this item there is tucked away in the next to the last paragraph a brief reference to "the original basis for the earlier symptomatic drinking" on the part of the person quoted.

[3] "Church and Labor Radio Tie Allowed in South Australia" (March 29, 1944, p. 5):

"The policy of the management [Methodist Mission and a labor organ] is that no intoxicating liquor, money-lending advertisements, or gambling information will be broadcast. . . ."

Note the typical ascetic Protestant combination of dislikes. Another typical item is "Firm Temperance Stand by Pennsylvania Grange" (April 3, 1944).

Despite the close attention which the Monitor accords the Yale School of Alcohol Studies and its periodical, Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, and the news items based upon it, what the Monitor sees fit to publish is (necessarily) selective, and the selection, or omission rather, is significant. One example may be sufficient. Donald Horton published "The Functions of Alcohol in Primitive Societies: A Cross-Cultural Study" in which evidence is presented for the view that "the primary function of alcoholic beverages in all societies is the reduction of anxiety," and that "The strength of the drinking response in any society tends to vary directly with the level of anxiety in the society."[3] (The scope of this last statement must be modified if it is to encompass Christian Scientists.) It would be difficult to overrate studies of this nature in any objective, nonpartisan approach to a solution of what many believe to be the problem of alcoholism.[4] Hence it might be expected of a newspaper dedicated, as the Monitor is, to nonpartisan and impersonal reporting and analysis, that it publish stories providing the gist of the findings. But that is precisely what the Monitor seems reluctant to do. To pay careful attention to alcoholism and the use of alcohol as a result of anxiety and not as a cause of evil would be felt as a threat to the stability of the personality, the emotional discipline and the belief that external forces are or may be brought under control at all times by the unaided individual. In short, the commissions and omissions of the Monitor with respect to alcohol, as in other matters, are to be interpreted as a "manifestation of sentiments," of residues, that is, as clues to the modal personality of the Monitor staff and its Christian Science readers.

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[1] "Inebriate Vagaries Accented in Connecticut Alcohol Study" (October 30, 1944).

[2] "New York State Accused of Corrupt Alcohol Control" (November 5, 1948, p. 1).

[3] 4(September, 1943), 199-320, 223, 293.

[4] "Yale Alcohol Research Placed on Factual Basis," C.S.M. (April 20, 1944, p. 3).

While perhaps sufficient evidence has been provided to document the fact of the Christian Scientist's abhorrence of liquor, the case for his ascetic Protestantism would be bolstered by data showing the attitude to liquor of denominations that are definitely ascetic Protestant.

As already noted with reference to tobacco New England was the area where the use of tobacco was most intensive and the reaction against it most vehement. The same action and reaction seem to have been true of alcohol. The inference is that the same psychological tensions were involved since both alcohol and tobacco have similar tension-reducing properties. The great nineteenth century temperance movements were predominantly of ascetic Protestant inspiration. As early as 1743 the Methodists "required members 'to avoid buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity.'"[1] The Methodists, Quakers, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Baptists were prominent in the nineteenth century temperance drives.[2] All of these denominations are characteristically ascetic in their emotional discipline and orientation. The heavy drinking which was especially noticeable in the New England of the first half of the last century was in substantial part due to the new Catholic immigrants who were becoming an important element in the population. It was their drinking habits which was one cause of the Protestant nativist movement's hatred of Catholicism and immigrants. Moreover it was the propaganda stressing the relation of drinking to the Catholic Irish which helped spread or perhaps re-enforce and deepen the latent No-Popery sentiment among the middle-class Protestant citizenry.[3] The point of interest here is not the Protestant-Catholic antagonism but the nature of the appeal which stimulated the Protestant dislike. Were it not for the fact that alcohol was felt to be a threat to Protestant sentiments and values, that is, to

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[1] Roland H. Bainton, cited in C.S.M. (August 4, 1944, p. 3).

[2] Idem.

[3] Billington, 1938; especially chapter 8.

Protestant emotional inhibitions and personality ideals, the propaganda linking alcohol and Catholicism would have been pointless. This is not to imply that Protestants do not drink; the exact opposite is true. It is because alcohol does reduce anxiety-tensions which, there is reason to believe, are relatively high among them that they use liquor and find it tempting. But this very fact creates anxiety because the cultural norms of sobriety, emotional stoicism, continuous rational organization and control of the impulse life have become an essential part of the personality. To violate or even contemplate violation of these norms is both a strong temptation to this personality and a stimulus to great anxiety involving moral reproach.[1] In Freudian terminology, there is a stern superego which punishes overt drinking and any thoughts or inclinations in that direction; the Protestant conscience is rigorous.

There is another complication with the same ambivalent effect. Friendship is both a value and a difficult relation for the ascetic Protestant. Liquor has become a symbol in the form of "social drinking" for the ease and informality implicit in friendship relations in part because it loosens restraints and inhibitions which are relatively more conspicuous among Protestants. However, this very relaxation of restraints becomes tinged with anxiety and suspicion for reasons already brought out. It is due to this situation that the Monitor and the more fundamentalist of the Protestant denominations are suspicious of and deride "social drinking"; in their opinion the transition from an occasional friendly glass to alcoholic addiction is fatally easy. There is no choice, it would seem, but between teetotalism and alcoholism--[1] and this may indeed be truer for them.

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[1] Repeated bouts of excessive drinking without painfully deeprooted guilt feelings would be more unlikely for the ascetic Protestant, but relatively frequent among groups without this kind of personality ideal. Compare Robert Freed Bales, 1946, 480-499.

There is one group the members of which bear a striking resemblance in their attitude to alcohol and whose analysis may serve to throw light upon this attitude among ascetic Protestants. Alcoholics Anonymous is composed of individuals for whom alcohol has been and remains a great and constant temptation. At the same time they look upon drinking with abhorrence and moral indignation however compassionately and understandingly they regard the victim; they have been through the mill and understand the tremendous temptations involved. The essential factor in the significantly high proportion of cures achieved by this organization is the formation of a network of intimate relationships among the members at the expense of their former ties which involved drinking. The new pattern includes a negative attitude toward alcohol together with mutual moral encouragement and responsibility for each other so that relapses into drinking do not occur. The individual who joins Alcoholics Anonymous exchanges one pattern of social relationships in which alcohol is positively valued for another in which it is negatively valued. There is a break in the accustomed pattern of living, a crisis situation, and Alcoholics Anonymous presents a new one wherein the norms controlling the exchange of recognition and response are sharply different. The disorganized emotions in the broken-pattern situation are thus offered an opportunity and encouragement to reorganize within a new system of relationships; the personality is modified and the desire for alcohol reduced to a manageable degree or, at times, altogether removed. It is highly improbable that Alcoholics Anonymous can succeed if the alcoholic cannot make this shift.[1]

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[1] The symbolic significance of grape juice instead of wine in the sacraments of certain Protestant denominations is easily understood in this context.

The complete absence of alcoholism among Christian Scientists[2] and the relatively high proportion of "cures" among

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[1] Compare Bales, 1942, and 1944.

[2] Myerson, 1944, p. 196. He considers the complete absence of alcoholism among this sect and the Quakers and Mennonites (all ascetic Protestant) an extraordinary phenomenon. Alcoholism is unlikely, it seems, among agnostics and Unitarians. The latter may be interpreted as the penultimate stage to agnosticism (not atheism, be it noted) in the (Continued on the following page)

Alcoholics Anonymous members point to several common elements: both are groups of relatively closely interrelated persons sharing a common value-system; both show a tendency to focus a substantial portion of their "life-areas" in group activities at the expense of breaking off relations with other groups whose values are incompatible; both fear alcohol as a threat and temptation to personality integration and therefore both take an extreme teetotalist position toward it. There is and can be no middle ground of moderation because even a small amount of alcohol would be too dangerous; the philosophy of moderation would be functionally disastrous to this personality type.[1]

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[2] (Continued from the previous page) development of ascetic Protestantism if the extremely tenuous nature of Unitarian religious belief is considered. If agnostics are little given to alcoholism it may possibly be due to a degree of emotional discipline which can withstand the strain of admitting and accepting the insolubility of those profound problems for which religion offers nonempirically oriented solutions. The low rates of alcoholism among Jews presents a problem which cannot be treated here.

[1] The writer knows of one Christian Scientist, a woman in her 30's, financially successful and single, who found herself losing interest in drinking when she began a close study of Christian Science, developed an interest in a new set of friends among Christian Scientists and dropped her previous relationships which, it is suspected, she found emotionally unsatisfying. She still is confronted with the cigarette problem.

John Wesley notes in his Journal the transformation in the direction of an emotionally disciplined life which occurred after a year's activity on the part of Whitefield and his Methodist associates among the dissolute colliers of Kingswood.

(Continued on the following page)

Sufficient evidence has been presented to prove that The Christian Science Monitor is a manifestation of and an index and monument to the Christian Science basic personality structure. In numerous details it has been shown how the theology and psychology of the Christian Scientist dominate and mold the newspaper's functioning. The analysis of the Monitor, and of Mrs. Eddy in the preceding chapter, demonstrates their fundamental ascetic Protestantism in so far as personality type is concerned. Since this conclusion is fundamental it will be bolstered in the next chapter by a different kind of argument with another type of evidence.

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[1] (Continued from the previous page)
The important points in this case are: (1) the unsatisfactory monetary and psychic rewards in the miners' way of life at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution; (2) the promise held out to them in Methodist preaching; (3) the sect discipline and recognition for behavior conforming to the leaders' values and norms which included abstention from liquor, methodical way of life, etc.--all implying and requiring emotional discipline; (4) all these circumstances are parallel to conditions and effects in Alcoholics Anonymous. The sectarian nature and controls of early Methodism and that of Alcoholics Anonymous are conspicuous. (Compare John Beaufort's C.S.M. article on AA, May 27, 1949, p. 3.)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

The construct of a modal or basic personality structure involves an accentuation of central tendencies observed in a given population; other tendencies or traits are ignored while the selected characteristics may develop in various directions. With respect to ascetic Protestantism three logical possibilities may be posited: the personality type persists unchanged; its basic characteristic, emotional discipline, weakens; and, finally, this trait develops gradually and intensifies. The first possibility may be dismissed as contrary to fact in view of the evidence in the chapter on sociological aspects of affectional frustration. The other two alternatives may coexist since one portion of the population may gradually weaken in its discipline while another evolves toward the opposite extreme. The former development might be expected for a major sector of the society since it is psychologically the easier of the two, while the hypertrophy phenomenon might characterize a much smaller proportion. The argument for the inherently ascetic Protestant nature of Christian Science which is clearly a manifestation of intensified emotional discipline would be considerably enhanced if it could be proven that its geographical distribution coincides with that of some phenomenon that can be shown to be a product of the weakening of ascetic Protestant emotional control while both this phenomenon and Christian Science are found within the geographical limits of ascetic Protestant-influenced societies and not elsewhere.

It will be recalled that originally the ascetic Protestant was an individual who was marked not alone by a relatively high degree of emotional control founded on affective repression but also by a strong moral conviction that the godly man can and ought to control his emotions in behalf of a rationally organized life devoted to bringing about the Kingdom of God on Earth. After the fading of the original intensity of religious belief the ideal remained as a part of the Protestant outlook and with it the moral sentiments about emotional discipline. Given this moral investment in emotional control it might be expected that any deviations from the ideal, any weakening of the discipline would result in guilt feelings of greater or lesser intensity, presumably less as time passes and both ideal and sentiments become attenuated. It would seem reasonable to expect the development of some practice or custom acknowledging and expressive of the guilt feelings over the breaches of the normative expectations. Does any such practice exist in Protestant countries and can its origin be traced with some degree of probability if not unambiguously to Protestant sources?

It is believed that the New Year's resolution fulfills these conditions. It is a more or less explicit promise to control through an exercise of will what are felt to be weaknesses of character, that is, morally reprehensible surrenders to impulse which an accepted standard prohibits. Very often the resolutions are aimed at petty weaknesses and foibles which come under the heading of poor self-control, chinks in the armor of complete and deliberate impulse restraint.[1] The existence of some norm of this nature is tacitly admitted by the mere making of the resolution even though it is known that many resolutions are never fulfilled and that the practice is more of an amused and temporary topic of conversation than anything else. The ascetic Protestant nature of the New Year's resolution is indicated by the fact that it is not made for a limited period, but for life--at least theoretically. In this the resolution differs from the self-denial of otherwise legitimate satisfactions as in penance or during Lent in Catholicism, or fasting for a stated period during Yom Kippur and other Jewish holy days[2] and for that matter in innumerable other faiths. The renewal of an identical resolution is simply acknowledgment that one has not lived up to one's earlier promise and, possibly, of guilt feelings about the matter. There is of course no denial of the fact that in probably all societies, individuals have from time to time resolved to reform themselves in one way or another. But this is irrelevant for our problem which involves the establishment of a more or less general practice. Although the New Year's resolution represents a weakening and secularization of the earlier religious attitude of life-long emotional discipline as well as an attempt to live up to rigorous standards, the influence of the underlying value-attitudes is very far from negligible. As one qualified observer put it:

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[1] Cf. any of the lists of resolutions made annually in the United States according to the Gallup Poll, for example that of December 31, 1947.

[2] The Day of Atonement starts with Kol Nidre, an annulment of vows voluntarily made to God and unfulfilled or which might be beyond the maker's capacity to keep. This formal acknowledgment of broken promises or resolutions suggests that the New Year's resolution is not of Jewish origin.

> I think it is definitely true that people of Puritan background are more concerned with conscientious behavior in all sorts of little ways than those with Catholic background. The latter seem much more able to accept behavior falling short of ideal patterns as just somehow in the nature of things.[1]

If this is so then there might be expected what is actually the case, that the New Year's resolution is pretty well confined to ascetic Protestant areas.[2] Although unequivocal proof of the Methodist or ascetic Protestant derivation of the practice is not at hand its psychological implications and geographical distribution strongly suggest it. If, then, the New Year's resolution is a product of ascetic Protestantism in the process of attenuation, Christian Science as an intensification of the same movement should be more widely accepted in ascetic Protestant than in Lutheran and Catholic (Roman and Greek Orthodox) countries, and in Lutheran rather than Catholic societies. In other words, the expectation would be that some kind of positive correlation would be found between emotional inhibition and Christian Science.

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[1] In a letter dated November 19, 1943 in response to one of the present writer's in which he suggested the possible Protestant background of the New Year's resolution.

[2] See Appendix B for a brief sketch of the rationale of an investigation into the problem and the results which support this proposition. An enumeration of the countries in which the New Year's resolution is and is not practised will be found there.

The most direct approach would be through a count of the number of Christian Scientists in each country and a comparison with the degree of ascetic Protestant influence. This approach, however desirable, is precluded by a number of circumstances. The absolute number of Christian Scientists would ignore the factor of differences in size of population; it would surprise no one to learn that there were more of them among a people of seventy million than one of half that number. But the construction of a Christian Scientist-population ratio would avoid this difficulty. Unfortunately no precise information is available as to the number of them in each country although formal entrance into the movement requires that each new member fill out a card giving name, marital status and former religious affiliation.[1] The last item would give unequivocal evidence of the attraction Christian Science exerts upon other denominations but for the fact that the Board of Directors is bound not to divulge membership statistics for publication by a prohibition in the Manual (p. 48). Finally, it is not easy to see how so elusive a factor as the influence of ascetic Protestantism can be measured with any degree of accuracy.

It is for these reasons that a rather crude method of estimating the spread of Christian Science has been adopted. The Christian Science Journal publishes monthly the names and addresses of all practitioners in good standing, and classifies them according to the countries and cities in which they are located. In 1944 all the bound volumes of this periodical from 1900-1901 through 1943[2] were examined and the number of practitioners in each year and country outside the United States were counted. Because of the large number of practitioners in this country only those for the year 1941 (vol. 59, 1941-1942) were counted and then only in an approximate manner.[3] The year

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[1] See the Manual, pp. 115, 118.

[2] With volume 60 (1942) the list of practitioners is that of December instead of April as heretofore.

[3] The figures yielded by this method were either identical with an actual count of several pages selected at random or exceeded them by not more than about 3%.

1900 was selected as a starting point because proselyting abroad was in its infancy then with a total of no more than 145 practitioners outside the United States; a peak was reached in 1939 when there were 2,037. It is believed that the number of practitioners provides a rough index to the spread of Christian Science because the nature of the treatment presupposes the acceptance, formally or informally, of the faith upon which healing is based. It should be remembered that individuals may practise Christian Science successfully without joining the movement. In this respect Christian Science is within the Protestant tradition of the direct relationship between man and God; salvation is freely available to all who will work for it, outside the bounds of organizations which may or may not claim a monopoly of divine grace.[1] The sacred writings, literature and churches are available to all, while independent private study is urged. Therefore the actual number of Christian Scientists who are formally inscribed on the rolls may not be very much more accurate an index of the faith's influence than the number of practitioners. Indeed, since the Manual specifies that the latter may not have any other income-producing occupation[1] it may be assumed that in each country there are sufficient patients, members, and non-members,[2] to maintain the practitioners in a standard of living considered adequate by the middle classes of each country. There is small reason to doubt that most Christian Scientists are middle-class.[3]

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[1] The special healing role, practitioner, exists and is distinct from that of the Reader, but the former is not a monopoly from which the lay Christian Scientist is excluded. On the contrary, all believers are in principle capable of healing themselves and others, and do. This is thoroughly institutionalized, is a basis of Christian Science's appeal, and cannot be eliminated by the practitioners whose livelihood may depend on their practice. In this respect the faith is Protestant, that is, all believers are equal before God, have equal access to the supernatural, and are equally entitled to the use of their reason in interpreting the written will of God.

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[1] The strictness of conformance to this injunction is open to question in view of a comment on Mr. Horace J. Carver, who was recently appointed to the post of Publisher's Agent:

"While still engaged in business he gave part of his time to the practice of Christian Science healing, and in 1945 began to devote his entire time to this work." (C.S.M., April 28, 1949, p. 3)

[2] Just what the proportion of full-fledged Christian Scientists may be is impossible to judge. There is reason to believe that it is not high. If it is assumed that there were about 9500 practitioners in 1936 (There were 9573 in 1941.) and that all of the 268,915 Christian Scientists thirteen years of age and over at that time (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1946, Table 65, p. 65) were their patients then each practitioner would have had to depend on but 28 clients, a number manifestly too low.

[3] In addition to "Christianity and the Economic Order" already cited, this judgment is supported by such things as the kind of automobiles in the church parking lots, the size and costliness of the buildings and their relative freedom from debt (for reasons already discussed). Considering the youth of the movement and the relatively small number of members, it may be inferred that, as a group, Christian Scientists are fairly well-to-do, and generous in support of a faith which meets their needs. Compare the figures for Christian Science in Bultena (1949). The concentration in the

(Continued on the following page)

There are however a number of other conditions which detract from the accuracy of the number of practitioners as an index. The practitioners are often married women, hence an income otherwise inadequate would be a welcome supplement to the family exchequer. Furthermore, not infrequently man and wife are practitioners, share an office as well as a home,

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[3] (Continued from the previous page) business and clerical occupations is conspicuous--as is the predominantly feminine appeal of this faith. The latter characteristic is suggested also by the very large proportion of women practitioners, 83.4%, for example, in Massachusetts in 1940. It may be repeated here that Christian Science is "tailored" to the potentially neurotic and hypochondriac middle-class urban woman. The achievement of emotional control through the aid of Christian Science tends to prevent emotionally disturbing and tension-heightening clashes with others. Thus it "works"; it satisfies that "lack" which Christian Science promises to supply (Supply, in its parlance, refers, very significantly, to money as well as love.); it helps neurotic and hypochondriac women, especially those outside the occupational structure, who otherwise express their tension in food faddism, visits to the doctor or a ceaseless quest for the physician who will really help them--repeated visits to the practitioner to be sure may be substituted. But Christian Science can be made to succeed only by women (and men) who can actually control their emotions, that is, generally speaking, women with an ascetic Protestant rearing. It is not to be taken that the Christian Scientist is a hypochondriac or neurotic; quite the reverse. These are latent reactions which need not materialize so long as Christian Science treatment by oneself or practitioner is sufficient. It is suggestive of the emotionally starved woman's attraction to the faith that the title of Miss appears so frequently in the list of practitioners. On the other hand, to correct possible misconceptions, there is quite a respectable sprinkling of military titles in the list of British practitioners. Closely related to these reasons for the greater appeal of Christian Science to women is the fact that men are more completely immersed in occupational roles and hence less preoccupied with the state of their health.

and thus minimize expenses while augmenting income. But whether these factors qualify the index value of the numbers of practitioners to a greater or lesser extent, it seems not too unreasonable to argue that they apply more or less roughly to every country and therefore may be treated as constants.

After the number of practitioners in each country in each year since 1900 had been ascertained, the figure representing the greatest number in any one year from 1929 to 1943[1] was selected and divided into the population figure for that country for that or the nearest available year. Since the data arrived at admittedly serve as only a very rude measure of Christian Science distribution, it is of very little importance that the "population years" do not always match the "practitioner years" and that the population figures include both actual and estimated census data.[2] Table II includes all the countries mentioned in Appendix B in relation to the New Year's resolution except Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Estonia, Guatemala, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, the U.S.S.R., Venezuela, Salvador and Yugoslavia. In

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[1] In no case which is of importance to this study were there more practitioners in any country prior to this period.

[2] All population figures are from *The Statesman's Year-Book*, with the exception of those for the United States and the Canal Zone which are taken from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1946.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PRACTITIONERS AND RATIO OF PRACTITIONERS TO POPULATION IN SELECTED COUNTRIES AND YEARS

COUNTRY	PRACTITIONERS	YEAR 19--[1]	POPULATION (nearest 000)	ONE CSP PER:[2]	GROUP
United States[3]	9,573	41	133,660,000	14,000	ONE
Australia	166	40/41	7,137,000	43,000	
England[4]	1,116	39	47,767,000	43,000	
New Zealand	47	38/36	1,474,000	31,000	
Canada[5]	239	39/41	8,175,000	34,000	
South Africa[6]	87	40/41	2,192,000	25,000	
Brazil	5	41/42	43,550,000	8,710,000	TWO
Cuba	3	29/33	4,011,000	1,337,000	
Czechoslovakia	3	34/36	15,187,000	5,062,000	
Denmark	9	39	3,805,000	423,000	
Finland	1	31/30	3,667,000	3,667,000	
Greece	1	31/28	6,205,000	6,205,000	
Latvia	3	37/35	1,951,000	650,000	
Netherlands	30	36/35	8,475,000	282,000	
Portugal	2	40/39	7,539,000	3,770,000	
Argentina	12	41/44	13,910,000	1,159,000	THREE
Austria	3	37/39	7,009,000	2,336,000	
Belgium	6	39/40	8,295,000	1,382,000	
France	40	31	41,835,000	1,046,000	
Germany[7]	111	39	69,622,000	627,000	
Hungary	1	39	9,106,000	9,106,000	
Italy	7	29/30	40,759,000	5,823,000	
Mexico	3	29/30	16,553,000	5,518,000	
Panama[8]	1	42/41	632,000	632,000	
Poland[9]	2	34/31	32,134,000	16,067,000	
Uruguay	2	37/38	2,093,000	1,047,000	
Norway	5	38/39	2,937,000	587,000	FOUR
Sweden	20	36/37	6,285,000	314,000	
Switzerland	80	40/41	4,266,000	53,000	
Eire	16	29/26	2,972,000	186,000	
Quebec Province	22	40/41	3,332,000	151,000	

[1] The first year is the practitioner peak; the second the population year; a single figure indicates that both periods are the same.

[2] The figure is to the nearest thousand.

[3] The continental United States.

[4] Includes Wales, Scotland, and N. Ireland.

[5] Exclusive of Quebec Province, a separate culture area.

[6] "Europeans" only.

[7] Exclusive of Austria and the Sudetenland.

[8] Exclusive of the Canal Zone.

[9] One CSP was in Danzig which was predominantly German.

none of these countries were there any Christian Science practitioners from 1929 to 1943.[1] It should be noted that with the exception of the last two all are countries in which the New Year's resolution is not known while the evidence as to Salvador and Yugoslavia is ambiguous. The religion of these countries is Roman Catholic with the exception of several in Eastern Europe where Lutheranism and the Orthodox faiths predominate. In none of these countries is ascetic Protestantism of much significance.

The most noticeable fact about this table is the clustering of the English-speaking peoples' ratios, a fact which no doubt attests the psychological, religious, and cultural kinship of the Anglo-Saxon world. The higher concentration of practitioners in the United States is explicable on two grounds: (1) Christian Science originated here and had more time to entrench itself. (2) The United States is more deeply affected by ascetic Protestantism because of the strategic influence of Puritan New England in the early days of American history. There was no firmly established social structure to offer substantial resistance to ascetic Protestant cultural patterns and ethos as in England. On the other hand the colonization of the other parts of the English-speaking area occurred after the vehemence of religious zeal had abated. This application of the broken-pattern hypothesis to Diaspora Puritanism holds for the Union of South Africa; the earliest major colonization was by deeply pious Dutch Calvinistic Boers. In addition to this factor is the minority position of the "European" population among a much larger number of colored people, a condition which very probably results in a more or less latent anxiety complicated by guilt feelings. These certainly are not rendered more supportable by the tensions arising from ethnic conflict within the minority white group. The South African practitioner-population ratio, second only to that of the United States, seems to be explicable in terms of this context.

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[1] There was one in Russia in the years 1907-1920, none thereafter; and one in Hungary from 1939 to 1942.

In the second group, those countries where the New Year's resolution is unknown, only the Netherlands with its Calvinistic strain has more than a handful of practitioners as well as the highest ratio. In the third group the evidence concerning the New Year's resolution is ambiguous; only France and Germany have more than a few practitioners while the German ratio is the highest, Panama's being deceptive since there is reason to believe that the lone practitioner is American as well as the clientele. The fourth group of special cases is more richly endowed proportionately with practitioners. The overlapping of ratios in groups two, three, and four conceals an interesting fact which is revealed in Table III.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PRACTITIONERS--POPULATION RATIOS IN DESCENDING ORDER OF CONCENTRATION

COUNTRY*	RATIO	RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE
United States	14,000	Ascetic Protestant
South Africa	25,000	
New Zealand	31,000	
Canada	34,000	
Australia	43,000	
England	43,000	
Switzerland	53,000	
Quebec Province	151,000	Roman Catholic
Eire	186,000	
Netherlands	282,000	Lutheran
Sweden	314,000	
Denmark	423,000	
Norway	587,000	
Germany	627,000	
Latvia	650,000	
France	1,046,000	Roman Catholic
Uruguay	1,047,000	
Argentina	1,159,000	
Cuba	1,337,000	
Belgium	1,382,000	
Austria	2,336,000	
Portugal	3,770,000	
Czechoslovakia	5,062,000	
Mexico	5,518,000	
Italy	5,823,000	
Greece	6,205,000	
Romania**	6,344,000	
Brazil	8,710,000	
Hungary	9,106,000	
Poland	16,067,000 or 32,134,000 (See Table II)	

* Catholic Panama has been omitted from the Lutheran group where its ratio would have placed it; the explanation is given in the text below. Lutheran Finland with its lone practitioner and no Christian Science church or society would have appeared in the last, Catholic group.

** No information about the New Year's resolution in Romania was available.

The rank-order shows three well-defined groups if the second is momentarily disregarded. The first is composed of the United States and all the English-speaking ascetic Protestant members of the (British) Commonwealth of Nations,[1] and Switzerland where ascetic Protestantism has also played a prominent part. In the third group the Netherlands with its Calvinistic background[2] ranks highest; the rest are predominantly Lutheran. Germany will come in for detailed examination in connection with Table IV. Finally, all of the fourth group are Roman Catholic.

Quebec Province, Panama, and Eire are in a class by themselves; all are distinguished by a Roman Catholic population in intimate relation with English-speaking peoples. While in general the distribution of practitioners conforms with expectations regarding the relative receptivity of ascetic Protestantism, Lutheranism and Catholicism to Christian Science and the New Year's resolution, the Province of Quebec, Panama, and Eire are exceptions--apparently. Whereas Canada, exclusive of Quebec Province, with a population of about 8,000,000 has 239 practitioners, a ratio of 1 to 34,000, Quebec Province has but 22 for 3 1/3 million, a ratio of 1 to 151,000. But this disproportion suddenly disappears when the practitioners are related to the number of Protestants in Canada and its province on the supposition that Christian Science is primarily a Protestant movement, a supposition borne out by Table III. Applying Canada's percentage of Protestants (55.6) to Canada's ratio and Quebec Province's percentage (13) to its ratio, the practitioner-Protestant population ratios are 1 to 19,000 and 19,700 respectively,[1] ratios which are close to that of the United States whose cultural kinship to Protestant Canada is thus demonstrated. The validity of using the Protestant population as the source of practitioner clientele is indicated by the fact that of the twenty-two practitioners in Quebec Province not one is French, all have English names. Surely, if Christian Science had really won its way among the French Canadians at least one of them might be expected to practise it. This, however, does not necessarily imply that practitioners have no French Catholics as patients. The conclusion is that Quebec Province is not an exception to the rank-order of practitioner-population ratios in Table III.

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[1] Psychologically Anglicanism is much closer to Catholicism than any other Protestant denomination. This fact may help account for the lower practitioner ratio in England, and perhaps Australia and Canada.

[2] Troeltsch, 2:677.

The case of Panama is subject to a similar explanation.

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[1] Similar results are obtained when the number of Christian Science churches and societies in Canada and Quebec Province are related to their Protestant populations: 1 to 63,000 and 1 to 44,000. The greater concentration in Quebec is due to the relatively greater urbanization of this province since Christian Science is an urban phenomenon.

The single practitioner has an "English" name, probably is an American, and very likely attracts her clientele from the large number of fellow countrymen there. This probability is enhanced by the fact that although there were no Christian Science churches or societies in Roman Catholic Panama with its 631,637 population (1940), there were two for the 42,346 inhabitants in the Protestant Canal Zone, which also supports three, probably American practitioners. In short, the country is within the American culture area, especially so in the Canal Zone with its 15,000 American residents.

A comparison of the data for Eire and Northern Ireland suggests that the relatively high proportion of practitioners in the former is due to its Protestant population. Unfortunately, it is not possible to distinguish with any certainty the Catholic or Protestant derivation of the practitioners from their names as was the case with Quebec. The Ulster ratio (66.5% Protestant in 1937) was 1:142,000 (39,41/37) as against Eire's 1:186,000 (29/26).[1] When allowance is made for the difference in proportion of Protestants the respective ratios rise to 1:95,000 and 1:12,000.[1] No decisive evidence, however, is at hand.

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[1] It may be of some significance that the peak number of practitioners in Catholic Eire was as far back as 1929 while that of Protestant Northern Ireland was in 1939 and 1941. A glance at Table III shows that generally the non-ascetic Protestant countries, especially the Catholic, reached the peak earlier than the ascetic Protestant societies.

Table IV has been constructed in an effort to focus more closely upon the distribution of Christian Scientists by ascertaining the practitioner-population ratios in the city or cities where, in each country, the largest number of practitioners are to be found. The practitioner and population years are the same as in the foregoing tables. The number of "indigenous" names of practitioners in most of the cities hints at the depth of penetration of Christian Science.

The rank-order distribution here generally follows that of Table III. The English-speaking cities are usually at or near the top with the ascetic Protestant Swiss cities alongside. While the last ten cities (excluding Danzig) are Catholic the first thirteen are ascetic Protestant. The proposition already mentioned, that Christian Science is, like ascetic Protestantism, an urban phenomenon, is supported by the figures in the fourth column. The greatest concentration of a country's practitioners in one or several cities is in the Catholic lands; Christian Science is more evenly distributed

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[1] Here, as in Quebec, the comparatively high proportion is accounted for by the concentration in Dublin county of fourteen of Eire's sixteen practitioners. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that Eire's Protestants (6.6% in 1936) are city folk with a good many in Dublin. This tendency would be an instance of the general propensity of immigrants to cluster together, as well as the urban nature of Protestantism.

TABLE IV

RANK-ORDER OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PRACTITIONERS--POPULATION RATIOS IN SELECTED CITIES

CITY	POPULATION[1]	CSPs	% CSPs[2]	CSP "NAMES"	CSP PER: (rounded figures)
Durban	113,000	21	24	1 "Dutch"	5,500
Vancouver	272,000	46	19		6,000
Lausanne	93,000	13	16	5 "German"	7,000
Geneva	124,000	13	16	5 "French"	9,500
Toronto	658,000	65	27		10,000
London[3]	4,062,000	357	32	3 "Jewish"	11,500
Wellington	154,000	13	28	1 " ?	12,000
Johannesburg	282,000	23	26	1 "Dutch"	12,000
New York City (c̄ Brooklyn)	7,455,000	473	5	36 "Jewish," 2 "Negro"	16,000
Zurich	336,000	21	26	19 "German"	16,000
Berne	130,000	8	10	8 non-English	16,500
Aukland	217,000	10	21		22,000
Sydney (c̄ Suburbs)	1,303,000	50	30		26,000
Eichwald[4]	31,000	1	33	1 "English"?	31,000
The Hague	482,000	14	47	4 "	34,500
Stockholm	534,000	14	70	2 "	38,000
Cristobal[5]	44,000	1	33	1 "	44,500
Dublin[6]	317,000	7	44	?	45,500
Montreal	890,000	17	77	All "English"	52,500
Chisinau	116,000	2	67	1 or 2 "English"	58,000

(Continued on the following page)

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[1] Population to the nearest thousand.

[2] Proportion of a city's CSPs to CSPs in the country: index to urbanization.

[3] London for census purposes.

[4] Eichwald b. Teplitz-Schönau, in Czechoslovakia.

[5] Balboa (population?) with Cristobal have all three CSPs in Canal Zone.

[6] If CSPs in Dublin County are included the per cent CSPs is 88.

TABLE IV (Continued from Previous Page)

RANK-ORDER OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PRACTITIONERS--POPULATION RATIOS IN SELECTED CITIES

CITY	POPULATION	CSPs	% CSPs	CSP "NAMES"	CSP PER: (rounded figures)
Belfast[7]	438,000	7	78		62,500
Florence	319,000	5	71	3 All "English"	63,500
Oslo	275,000	4	80	4 Native	68,750
Portalegre	186,000	2	100	2 "English"	93,000
Paris	2,891,000	29	73	18 "	99,500
Copenhagen	843,000	8	89	All Native	105,500
Riga	385,000	3	100	" "	128,500
Panama	133,000	1	100	1 "English"	133,500
Berlin	4,332,000	31	29	30 "German"	139,750
Brussels	913,000	5	83	2 "English," 1 "Jewish"	182,500
Helsingfors	244,000	1	100	"Native"	243,500
Buenos Aires	2,409,000	9	75	All "English"	267,500
Sao Paulo	1,120,000	4	80	1 "Port.,", 3 "German"	280,000
Havana	951,000	3	100	3 "English"	317,000
Mexico City	961,000	3	100	3 non-Native	320,500
Montevideo	674,000	2	100	2 "English"	337,000
Danzig	415,000	1	100	1 "German" ?	415,000
Athens	453,000	1	100	"Native"	453,000
Lodz[8]	639,000	1	100	"	639,000
Vienna	1,918,000	3	100	1 "English"	639,500
Prague	849,000	1	33	"Native"	849,000
Budapest	1,116,000	1	100	" ?	1,116,000

[7] Belfast County Borough.

[8] The other CSP was in Danzig.

in ascetic Protestant societies.[1]

A few remarks on most of the cities may be illuminating. In the South African cities of Durban and Johannesburg only two practitioners have clearly "Dutch" names and these are the only ones among all eighty-seven South African practitioners. The inference is that the appeal of Christian Science is to the English-speaking ascetic Protestants and not the "Dutch" Calvinists. In the latter's country of origin, seven of a total of thirty practitioners have English names as do four of the fourteen in The Hague. The Christian Science churches and societies in the Netherlands conduct their services in English as well as in Dutch.[2] In Switzerland, German and French, always coupled with English, are used; there is no mention of Italian or Romansch. Likewise, practitioners have German (32) and French (5) names, the remainder (46%) being English in the four cities listed. It seems reasonable to conclude that Christian Science in Switzerland draws upon English-speaking residents and tourists to an important degree. It may not be without significance for the relation of this movement to

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[1] Christian Science is under an especially severe handicap in rural areas, villages, and small towns. If the present writer's reaction at a Wednesday testimonial meeting is any criterion, the necessarily small number of regular attendants is insufficient to permit witnessing to a variety of patently important exhibitions of the faith's healing powers. It is only too easy for the witnesses to appear embarrassingly trivial and thus undermine confidence at the meetings the latent function of which is to provide mutual support and re-enforcement of faith.

[2] The Christian Science Journal often publishes the languages in which services are conducted in the list of churches and societies. It is not clear whether the omission of the language in the services of non-English-speaking countries means that they are performed in the native tongue, for in certain instances the native language is specified. The explanation of the Board of Directors (June 27, 1949) helps to clarify this point. The last paragraph of the letter is especially interesting because of the attitude toward Science and Health whose minutiae, including capitalization and punctuation, are regarded as divinely inspired. The frequency of and the emphasis upon (Continued on the following page)

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[2] (Continued from the previous page) English in the services suggest the relatively high level of education of Christian Scientists abroad.

"The listing of the church services in The Christian Science Journal does not always give complete information as to the language in which a service may be held. Where no language is mentioned in connection with services in a country, such as France or Germany, we believe that the native tongue is usually used. In places like Hong Kong where the Christian Scientists are largely English speaking, the services would naturally be held in English. The Readers are usually natives of that land or at least permanent residents, and of course those who are bilingual are preferred if their understanding of Christian Science is equal to that of members who have but one language.

"In many places where the language of the members is not English, two services are held so that all may understand, and many times the natives attend both services as a means to gaining a greater knowledge of the English language. In such cases, when there are no bilingual Readers available, there may be two Readers for the English service, and then two substitute Readers who read the Lesson in the native tongue.

"It is always considered progress when a church which is made up largely of those speaking another language can hold services in English, since that is the language in which the textbook, "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures" by Mary Baker Eddy, was written."

Since German and French translations of Science and Health have been in circulation since 1912 and 1917 respectively it is not probable that any differential availability accounts for the disparity in these two countries of the Christian Science influence.

ascetic Protestantism that the city which welcomed Calvin and was the seat of his experiment in shaping it according to his conception of a City of God has a practitioner ratio substantially higher than that of Berne which was hostile to him.[1] In fact most of the Christian Scientist practitioners and organizations are in the Protestant cantons. It is interesting to note in view of the tendency for Christian Science to concentrate in the larger cities, that the two smaller Swiss cities have a higher ratio than the two larger ones.

London is of interest because of the .8% of practitioners who because of their names might be of Jewish origin although London's Jews constitute about 5.8% of its population.[2] For the same reason attention is attracted to New York City. While practitioners with plainly "Jewish" names amounted to but 7.6% of the total, 28% of its population is Jewish.[3] It does not seem probable that approximately one hundred additional names belong to individuals who were formerly of the Jewish faith; there is the possibility that the thirty-six Jewish names may belong in part to Christians of German descent. If the populations of Bronxville and Long Island communities are included in that of New York City, the proportions are somewhat different. The total number of practitioners becomes 597, with 41 Jewish names. The practitioner-population ratio rises to 1:12,487 and the percentage with Jewish names falls to 7%. In Brooklyn there were eight "Jewish" practitioners among a total of seventy-three or 11% whereas 37.05% of this borough's population was Jewish. In Staten Island with its 5.4% Jewish population there were four practitioners with Jewish names, while only 3% of the practitioners in the predominantly non-Jewish Long Island communities had such names. In short, these figures suggest that Christian Science is not particularly attractive to Jews, a proposition which is congruent with the low rank of asceticism in the Jewish scale of values and their facility in emotional expression.[1] It is for these reasons that in the United States people with Jewish and

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[1] Troeltsch, 2:626.

[2] In 1938 there were 233,991 Jews in London, according to the World Almanac (1944), p. 468.

[3] *Idem*.

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[1] It is not meant to imply that a considerable number of Jews may not be drawn to Christian Science; the comparison here is with the receptivity of other faiths. The minority position of the Jews among a more or less hostile population helps produce tensions of a type susceptible to Christian Science healing. And theologically conversion would be facilitated by the fact that Christian Science circumvents the traditional animus of the Jews against Jesus by its conception of him as a purely human albeit great practitioner of its principles. This circumstance is also conducive to conversion on the part of those emancipated Jews who wish to separate from their fellows and yet cannot bring themselves to worship in any faith that implies a monotheism less strict than that of Judaism. Additionally there is the congruence between the values of the largely middle-class assimilating Jews and those of Christian Science, as well as the eminent respectability of social status achieved by the movement.

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Catholic[1] backgrounds seem to be "overrepresented" in the art and entertainment worlds where the labile expression of emotion is at a premium--always allowing for the culturally permitted and prescribed exception in the feminine roles.[2] As additional confirmation of the middle-class nature of Christian Science it is noteworthy that despite the large Negro population there are only two colored practitioners (listed as such in the Journal) in New York City, and both live on the outskirts, that is, the "better" residential sections, of the Negro areas in Brooklyn and Manhattan. (Compare the discussion, in Chapter Two, of the lower- and middle-class Negro personality differences.)

The relatively high position of a Czech city in this table and the equally low one of the country as a whole in Table III may be reconciled if it is supposed that the substantial Protestant minority is located in the urban areas.

English is the companion tongue in the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland, while most of their practitioners seem to be native. Cristobal's rank-order as illusory has been anticipated in the discussion of Panama above. The position of Dublin and Montreal is contrary to expectations only if it is assumed that the practitioners' clientele is Catholic. Both cities, however, have a substantial number of Protestants. The city and county of Dublin together account for approximately half the population of Leinster Province with its million odd inhabitants, of whom in 1926 about 116,000 were Protestant:[1] fourteen of Eire's sixteen practitioners are in and around Dublin. It would not be risking too much to suppose that they depend upon the Leinster Protestants. Montreal's seventeen and Quebec Province's twenty-two practitioners have English or American names. This is not conclusive since there are substantial numbers of Irish Catholics in this city; but as a counterweight there are Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and other Protestant churches as well as Congregational, Wesleyan, and Presbyterian colleges.

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[1] Asceticism is a Catholic ideal for both lay and clerical persons but it is necessary to distinguish between theological desiderata, however earnestly praised and preached, and widely diffused personality traits normally inculcated by the pressure of institutionalized family patterns.

[2] It seems that the "soap operas'" stereotyping of personality is in accord with this generalization. Compare Merton, 1938, 375-381, 490-492.

Despite Romania's three practitioners there are no Christian Science churches or societies; there are, however, probably enough Protestants to support the practitioners if they do not have sufficient clients of Greek Orthodox persuasion.

If names mean anything three of Florence's five practitioners are English or American, a fact supported by the one English service of the two conducted in the single church there.

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[1] Statesman's Year-Book.

In all Italy there are no other Christian Science organizations.[1] In Portugal there are none at all and both practitioners in that Catholic stronghold have Anglo-Saxon names. Only a third of the Parisian practitioners seem to be French and about 37% of all practitioners in France. It is suggestive that of the five Christian Science organizations in France two are in Paris and one each in Cannes and Nice, famed tourist resorts; in all of them the services are in English and French.

The practitioners in Copenhagen and Riga are native; the services in the former are in Danish and English, in the latter German, English, and Latvian. English and German also characterize many of the services in Germany where the practitioners are very largely German in name. The distribution of practitioners in Germany is of interest on two counts. (1) Although Berlin accounts for but 29% of the total of practitioners, the larger cities include over 90% of the total with the bulk of them in the largest.

The urban concentration of practitioners and, presumably, of Christian Scientists is even more striking than the Table V on the following page indicates. This is perhaps the most urbanized of all the German sects which, in turn, tend to

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[1] It is understood that this and similar statements apply only to the data presented; Christian Science may have progressed since 1943.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN PRACTITIONERS, 1932-3*

COMMUNITY SIZE	PER CENT POPULATION	PER CENT CSPs	COMMUNITY SIZE
2,000 and less	32.7	9.3	Under 100,000
2,000 to under 100,000	36.9		
100,000 and over	30.4	90.6	
		27.0	100,000-500,000
		29.0	500,000-1,000,000
		34.6	1,000,000 and over
	100.0	99.9	

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* The population distribution is from the *Statistisches Jahrbuch*, 1937, p. 14; the census is that of June 16, 1933.

congregate in the cities. These religious bodies are classified under the heading *Sonstigen Evangelischen* in the 1933 census and include, among others, Mennonites, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, the Salvation Army, Darbyists, Free Evangelical, Other Biblical Christians, Chiliastic Christians (Mormons, Adventists, etc.), Rationalistic- and occult Christians (Scientists, etc.).[1] They constitute .9% of the population,[2] and are concentrated in the industrial areas with the exception of East Prussia, while within these areas almost 40% are in cities of 100,000 and over.[3] This is in contrast to the 90% of the Christian Scientist practitioners in cities of the same size. Fifty-four or 71% of the practitioners are located in eight cities with 12.3% of the entire population. Berlin, Dresden, and Hamburg alone contain 50.6% of the practitioners. These cities (9% of the German population), however, included only 9.7% of the *Sonstigen Evangelischen* which in turn are but .9% of the total German population.

(2) The eight cities in which almost three-quarters of the German practitioners are located are overwhelmingly Protestant. The percentage of Roman Catholics in Berlin,

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[1] *Volkszählung*, Heft 3, *Die Bevölkerung des Deutschen Reichs nach der Religionszugehörigkeit*, Berlin, 1936, pp. 68 ff.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 7.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 10-11.

Dresden, Frankfort-am-Main, Hamburg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Stuttgart, and Hannover varies from 3.6 in Leipzig to 33.1 in Frankfort-am-Main. The latter, with Stuttgart (20.2%), are significant because they are in regions into which Calvinistic influences have penetrated.[1] This correlation comes out with striking effect when the cities with Christian Science practitioners are spotted on a map as was done for those listed in 1939. The clustering of the vast majority in Protestant areas is unmistakable. On the other hand cities with practitioners in largely Catholic areas are usually those with a history of ascetic Protestant incursions, for example, the Lower Rhine, Westphalia, Frankfort, the Rhineland, and the region around the Main.[2] These facts about the distribution of practitioners in Germany and the generally higher ratios in Scandinavian countries and cities suggest an explanation involving the psychological natures of German and Scandinavian Lutheranism and Christian Science.

It will be recalled that the German basic personality type is conspicuous for its emphasis upon the coercive or power element in human relations, and the manifestation of aggression toward subordinates and social inferiors.[3] The effect of ascetic Protestantism, on the other hand, has been in the direction of seeking affectional response, the exchange element, in social relations while repressing coercive tendencies. Christian Science is typically ascetic Protestant in these respects; although control over the social environment is highly valued, the attainment of this goal is sought not by coercing associates but by trying to gain their affection since the latter is apparently of primary importance to this personality's emotional stability. Thus there is a conflict between the German Lutheran personality's need to find release by dominating inferiors[1] and the Christian Scientist's inhibition of aggressive tendencies. Further, the autonomous individuality of the Scientist is out of place in the interlocking superordinate-subordinate relationship characteristic of the German modal personality and social structure. For these reasons then it is understandable why the penetration of Christian Science as indicated by the practitioner ratios is greater among Scandinavian Lutherans than German Lutherans, and in German areas where ascetic Prostestantism has been at work and prepared the way. By the same reasoning Christian Science has found a still more favorable reception in the ascetic Protestant regions of Switzerland and the Anglo-Saxon societies.

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[1] See Troeltsch, 2:922-924.

[2] _Idem_, and pp. 686-687, 945.

[3] Appendix A.

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[1] The possibility arises that German Christian Scientists would be under more of a temptation to practise black magic ("animal magnetism") as an expression of repressed aggression.

The two "English" practitioners in Brussels and the mention of French and English as the languages used in the services suggest that Christian Science has attracted the more educated since French seems to have gained the ascendancy in educated Belgian society. This suggestion, if borne out, agrees with the information about the New Year's resolution as something known to educated circles in contact with England.

In the Catholic cities, Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Havana, Mexico City, and Montevideo, the practitioners are all non-Catholic if any significance is to be attached to their English or non-native names; German and English as well as Portuguese are used in the services.

This survey of the urban practitioner-population ratios leads to the same result as the data in Table III: the most favorable soil for Christian Science is ascetic Protestantism. This is of course what might be expected in view of the derivation of Christian Science from and its psychological resemblance to ascetic Protestantism in the matter of emotional inhibition and its desirability as a component of the ideal personality. If the surprisingly simple idea involved in making resolutions at the beginning of the year is considered together with the intimate cultural commerce within the Western culture area, the distribution of unequivocal knowledge and practice of the New Year's resolution is markedly correlated with the distribution of ascetic Protestantism. And, again, this is not surprising when the emotional and ideal elements common to both phenomena are recognized. Thus the two alternatives set out at the start of this chapter may be taken as confirmed by the data presented: ascetic Protestantism has experienced simultaneously an intensification and weakening of emotional inhibition; the very product of attenuation, the New Year's resolution, confesses its origin and standards. If this be the case certain traits of contemporary Christian Science might be expected to be similar to features characteristic of ascetic Protestantism in its most influential period, when the degree of emotional control may very well have been greater on the whole than it is today.

There is one process of action which is of particular interest here because it has been held to be closely associated with ascetic Protestantism and is also an object of great interest to Christian Scientists. The reference is to scientific inquiry and the application of its findings technologically in the control of physical nature. Because this subject is not, however, directly germane to the main focus of the present study an analysis of the relationship between ascetic Protestantism and science has been relegated to Appendix C.

The evidence to this point (and in Appendix C) indicates that Christian Science is undoubtedly a genuine ascetic Protestant phenomenon in its genetic and psychological kinship.

Another problem then arises: Is Christian Science a species of magic? The solution presented in the next chapter entails an analysis of the nature of its healing, an activity which, like the ascetic Protestant attitude to science, has to do with the "requirements of everyday life."

CHAPTER SIX

THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE HEALING

The chapter heading indicates the approach necessary for the solution of the question: Is Christian Science a species of magic? There will be presented one after the other a series of excerpts from Christian Science articles illustrating the ends for which Christian Scientists strive and the manner in which they achieve them. From these articles it will be possible to determine the kind of ends and the elements of Christian Science technique. Then these elements will be measured against the concepts defined in the first chapter.

The psychological aspects of Christian Science healing are quite secondary in the present discussion to the principles explicitly emphasized by Mrs. Eddy and her disciples, and to the assumptions more or less hidden beneath concrete action. Where there is a contradiction between the two greater weight is assigned to the latter on the ground that actions speak louder than words. But the contradictions between theological doctrine and practice is of significance in that there is a possibility of determining the tensions involved. Therefore concrete instances come first, analysis later.

> (1) A telegram from South Africa to a practitioner living in a *distant* country, asking for Christian Science treatment, was answered by *instantaneous* *healing* of what the doctors

> had diagnosed as a severe heart trouble. . . .[1]

> (2) This truth ["sin, disease, and death have no actual existence, even though they seem real to mortals."] is demonstrable, and the writer had an opportunity to prove it when he had been studying Christian Science but a few weeks. For years he had been troubled with periodic bilious attacks, which would keep him confined to his bed for a day or more at a time, unable to raise his head from the pillow. He awoke one morning with one of these attacks, and it seemed quite evident that he would be unable to go about his duties that day. Then he decided to try Christian Science. He knew very little about it, but one thought gleaned from his study stood out--the teaching that disease is unreal because God is All. For half an hour he declared this truth over and over again, endeavoring to realize it clearly. At the end of that time he was healed and went to work. That happened about thirty years ago, and he has never had a return of the complaint.[2]

> (3) A young soldier, already hospitalized with a serious throat condition, awakened to the realization that he did not have to yield to the temptation to be sick. He declared firmly the truths he had learned in Christian Science, knowing that the diseased condition was the manifestation of the belief that man has an existence separate from God, infinite Mind. 'I am not alone,' he declared. 'My heavenly Father is with me, sustaining me. I express health, harmony, peace, and freedom. No mesmeric dream can deprive me of harmony. The

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[1] "The March of Mind," C.S.M., March 22, 1945, The Home Forum page, italics added. Unless otherwise noted the Monitor "lessons" and advertisements mentioned in this chapter are from The Home Forum page.

[2] "Because God Is All," C.S.M., May 6, 1944.

illusion of the senses cannot deceive me. I am God's perfect child.' Having conquered mortal fear and lifted his thought to the consciousness of God's presence, he was healed.[1]

(4) An example from the experience of a student of Christian Science illustrates this point. She had been working in the garden. Running swiftly down the path, she struck her ankle against an upturned fork left lying on the ground. The sharp prongs pierced a blood vessel and the blood gushed out. Instantly the Scientist declared, 'Under divine Providence there can be no accidents, since there is no room for imperfection in perfection' (ibid. [Sc. and H.], p. 424). The blood stanched, and she proceeded with her work. Later she washed the leg and the stocking and found the wound healed and the stocking not even laddered. Analyzing her thought subsequently, she saw that she had been harboring a belief of ruptured relations with an acquaintance. She knew that Truth healed all erroneous conditions, and the next meeting with this individual was most harmonious--the rupture was healed.[2]

(5) Practical fulfillment of Jesus' statement, (Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free,' has come for vast numbers of people through the study of the Christian Science textbook, . . . The freedom which is thus appearing is better than that which is commonly hoped for. It is freedom from disease, injury, fear, loneliness, lack, aggression, oppression--from evil in every form. And countless thousands are proving step by step that it is available now.[3]

(6) Good is, because God is! 'Evil has no power,

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[1] "Conquerors All," C.S.M., March 18, 1944.

[2] "Not in the Wind," C.S.M., May 2, 1944.

[3] Advertisement, idem. The significance of advertisements for Christian Science books and periodicals lies in the type of ends considered most important and appealing. The whole emphasis is upon its concrete beneficial results.

no intelligence, for God is Good, and therefore good is infinite, is All, writes Mary Baker Eddy. . . . She also says, . . . 'Evil has no reality. It is neither person, place, nor thing, but is simply a belief, an illusion of material sense.' It is, as Jesus told the Jews, 'a liar, and the father of liars.'

One day a young man asked a Christian Scientists for help. He told her that he was destitute, sick, and tortured with an insatiable craving for alcoholic liquor. Because of this habit, he had lost his family, his home, his business, and his friends. Deeply ashamed and almost hopeless, he asked if he could possibly be healed in Christian Science. Everything else, he admitted quite frankly, had failed.

The Scientist assured him that *nothing is impossible with God*, and then told him of his real selfhood and of his rich inheritance as the child of God. He was assured *that he could never be alone or friendless*, for God, his perfect Father, was ever with him. . . . He was healed and restored to his family and his home, and to a useful place in society.

An aviation cadet . . . also proved the practicability of this spiritual power. He was flying solo some three thousand feet above the ground when suddenly his engine failed. He realized at once that he would have to make a forced landing. It was his first and in unfamiliar territory, but he had no fear. As a Christian Scientist, he had learned that his ability to do the right thing, his intelligence, and his strength were not in a material body, but in God, and that they were, therefore, *ever available and wholly adequate*.

Looking down he saw three pieces of ground which might serve as possible emergency landing fields. One he discarded immediately because its color told him that it was probably a swamp; another, he was quite sure, was newly-plowed ground; but the third, he felt, was all right. He landed on the spot he had chosen and came to a stop without harm to himself or damage to the plane. Great was his gratitude to God for this proof of His unfailing,

> unerring guidance and love. . . .[1]

(7)
> A young aviator, a pilot in the RAF bombarding forces, describing to a friend his experience over enemy territory, said his copilot, who had the controls in his hands on their start to return home, was hit in the arm by a bullet from an attacking plane. The pilot had been a student of Christian Science from early boyhood, and *knew exactly what power to draw upon* as he took possession of the plane. He at once established in his thought the God-given dominion which belongs to perfect man, and he realized this truth for his companion as well, knowing that he, too, was 'allied to the deific power.' At the same time *he demanded the corresponding evidence*. In the time usually required by their schedule, they were gliding down easily onto their home landing field. The wounded copilot . . . remarked, 'Something was carrying on up there, much greater than you or me.'
>
> *That 'something' was the law of God, understood and applied*; . . . It was that Christ-consciousness which knows no material limitation.[2]

(8)
> The more we understand of God as the only power governing man, and of man as spiritual and perfect, the image of God, his Maker, the easier it is to discern harmony as the only reality, and to dissociate from our brother the various beliefs of evil, malice, hatred, greed, disease, pain, and want. *When God is understood and worshiped aright* as the one divine Father of all, *evil beliefs*, seen to have no part in God, *will cease to dominate men*. . .
>
> . . . harmony in every sphere as natural and

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[1] "Too Good to be True?", C.S.M., April 21, 1944; italics added. The military aspect of Christian Science recalls the calm discipline of Cromwell's army which Weber mentions as conspicuous and an important element in its victory over the impetuous and undisciplined charge of the Cavaliers.

[2] "Victory Through Spiritual Power," C.S.M., March 24, 1944; italics added.

normal, to be gained not through material intellectualism, but by a humble receptivity and *awareness of God's all-power and man's ability to express Him*.

A student of Christian Science, serving in the armed forces, found his desire to serve his fellow men with wisdom and understanding of inestimable value. . . . He had to handle diverse subjects, and always, because his heartfelt prayer was to use the discernment of good to the best of his ability for all, those serving under him and with him frequently said that his consideration and helpfulness had made a great difference in their work, encouraging and enlightening them, and making it more congenial and more easily understood than it had formerly been.[1]

(9) A British soldier found himself interned in a Northern European country. As his country was not at war with this nation, he was allowed freedom of activity in a village of its wooded interior. He became quite satisfied with the quiet life of the small town, but thought that he ought not succumb to a false sense of peace. Writing to a friend at home, he requested some thoughts on spiritual guidance so that he might become more clearly aware of divine direction. In response, the friend told him to trust in God, who at the right time would gently lift him out.

[After invasion of this country he was placed in a concentration camp.] The British soldier, being a student of Christian Science, sent a cable to a friend at home, asking for Christian Science treatment. Shortly afterward, without any explanation, he was removed from this camp, and taken to another in a neutral country. From there he was transferred to a position in the diplomatic offices of his own country, and subsequently became a naval officer. His reliance on God had wrought his release.

. . . The soldier's steadfast realization of the basic truth so clearly explained in Christian

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[1] "What Solomon Knew," C.S.M., March 27, 1944; italics added.

Science, that is, the allness of God and the nothingness of matter and of every material obstruction, brought him his freedom. His faith and firm spiritual understanding that man, as God's child, could never stray beyond the omnipresence of the all-inclusive Mind assured him of a successful result in every step taken. He could feel the sustaining arm of God about him even when he seemed to be surrounded by a formidable enemy, and in the conflict of battle.[1]

(10) Shall we not then with gladness and gratitude leave the old landmarks of mental resistance and of unresponsiveness to the Christly appeal to accept Love's bounteous bestowals of good? The need for this receptive mental attitude was interestingly portrayed in the case of a young woman seeking the healing of a physical complaint who borrowed Science and Health from a Christian Scientist. With somewhat labored caution and latent criticism she searched the pages of the book, longing the while to find a satisfying understanding of God's allness and man's spiritual sonship with Him. Soon she began to wonder why so little light penetrated her thought. She also wondered why she was not more quickly gaining her freedom from the physical trouble.

As she continued her study and began to give up her critical resistance to the divine truths presented to her, she found a new radiance illuming her life. Progressive business opportunities, unsought, were afforded her, and her healing began to appear. She was learning to reach forth unreservedly to claim the limitless harmony and health that had, in reality, always been hers because she was unequivocally the child of God, good. Today she is eagerly helping others to find their natural and spontaneous freedom by showing them how unnatural and how incapable of producing harmony is any mental attitude opposed to God's omnipotent goodness.

To those who open wide their consciousness to receive the truth of their spiritual oneness with

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[1] "A Strong Deliverer," C.S.M., August 19, 1944.

God, here and now, the words of our great Wayshower are fulfilled (John 16:23), 'Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.'[1]

(11) It is generally agreed that *God*, the allwise Father, *has a definite plan for His children*, and if one but knew and understood that plan he could follow it successfully. Unfortunately, there are many who feel that they do not know or understand God's plan for them, and thus often find themselves frustrated in their activities.

If such a one will turn to his Bible and study it intelligently, he will find many helpful passages that will guide him in seeking to know God's plan and purpose. In the Bible we read (Proverbs 3:5,6): 'Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths.'

In . . . Mary Baker Eddy writes . . . , 'When we wait patiently on God and seek Truth righteously, He directs our path.' . . .

God has an important and useful activity for each of His children, and no one need feel that he is too humble or too unimportant to come within the scope of this plan; nor need he feel neglected or discouraged in his work. *Man's chief business is to reflect or express God in all of his activities*; . . .

God's plan is never temporary or incomplete, but is *forever unfolding in harmony, order, and progress, and is immediately available to all*. Mrs. Eddy writes, '*Every day makes its demands upon us for higher proofs rather than professions of Christian power*.' And she adds farther on, ' . . . [God's law of progress] *demands of us only what we can certainly fulfil*.'

When one's progress seems slow or stagnated, he should remember that there may be certain adjustments going on, some unfoldment in consciousness, not immediately perceptible. [Example of waiting for results of fall planting.] Though the period of waiting appear long and irksome, *he who continues to affirm and to trust God's eternal law of progress, and to do his best under all circumstances*, will presently see the fruition of God's divine plan and purpose for him.

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[1] "Accepting Healing," C.S.M., August 5, 1944; italics added.

This was illustrated in the experience of a man and his wife who, while on a vacation trip learned that a position which the husband felt he was well qualified for by experience, and had earned through faithful work, was given to another employee, who, he was convinced, was not well enough equipped to hold it. Both went to work as they had been taught in Christian Science to clear their consciousness of disappointment and resentment, declaring that God's perfect plan would unfold in the right way for all concerned.

. . . Here, indeed, was the answer! [Psalm 75: 6, 7] They could now dismiss the problem from thought, knowing that God's divine plan was universal and ever operative, and would take care of their progress at the right time and in the right way.

When they returned home it was found that the other man had been placed in the position, but it was proving very difficult for him to do the work satisfactorily; so the husband made it his business to be as helpful as possible to him. Thus a lasting friendship was cemented. Not long afterward, another position, far better than the one he had hoped to get, was given to the husband, thus proving that God's plan is revealed as one is loving, unselfish, obedient, and faithful in doing his allotted work.

Christian Science affirms that God's plan for man includes progress, opportunity, abundance, freedom, and joy. When one seeks to know God's plan and is obedient to it, he learns that *there is no need for futile human planning. The divine will then takes the place of mortal desires and truth illumines one's path*.[1]

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[1] "God's Plan," C.S.M., July 8, 1944; italics supplied.

(12) *World problems* are not basically national or international; they *are individual. As individual problems are solved, the larger problems of society will diminish.* A *worker in a* large airplane *factory* was much distressed by the selfishness, incompetence, envy, and jealousy which were delaying the work. Brooding over the condition, he found himself becoming discouraged and fearful that the plant would fall behind seriously in its production schedule.

Then one day he saw . . . he had to change his own thinking, to get his own thoughts in step with God. . . .the beautiful words of the Bible (Isaiah 30:15) [came to him], 'In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.' As he became increasingly aware of the truth of this statement, conditions in the plant improved. Other employees with whom he came in contact began to express a better sense of things. *Calmness and intelligence appeared where confusion, irritation, and profanity had prevailed. Efficiency replaced carelessness, and harmony* replaced discord.[1]

(13) This Science heals the sick on the basis that matter, being nonintelligent and actually nonexistent, can make no conditions for man, the manifestation of Spirit, God. It shows that *man is spiritual and can assert and prove his dominion over all material conditions and adverse circumstances.* . . . *it proves that God is not a person in a far-off heaven, but is our very Life and Mind, and is divine Love, ever present and available.*

. . . We must recognize our true identity as spiritual, the reflection or expression of God, divine Love.[2]

(14) . . . A review of the earthly activities of Moses, Jacob, and Abraham, and of Elijah, Elisha, Jeremiah, and other prophets, reveals the *application of the Christ-principle to divers problems of human existence,*

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[1] "Marching Men," C.S.M., August 22, 1944; italics added.

[2] "The Comforter," C.S.M., March 29, 1944; italics added.

> *as well as to the healing of physical ailments.* . . . *Mary Baker Eddy*, who *proved the Christ*[1] *to be without age or time, effectual to help and heal in the now of human existence.*
>
> One of the first things which interest the beginner in Christian Science *is its applicability to every human problem.* Early in his study, the student discovers that this is not merely a 'Sunday' religion, nor is it, as many believe, applicable only to the healing of the sick. *Christian Science is the law of the Principle of Christianity; this law is without restriction in its applicability to all human needs.*
>
> *Through acknowledgment of the Christ message and obedience to it we find our at-one-ment. Through spiritual reflection, we have access to omnipotence.*
>
> . . . aside from the correction of physical disorders of every nature, *the proper application of the Science of Christ brings about harmony in the solution of every human problem.*
>
> . . . Many have seen *interruptions in the harmonious proceedings of business, home, or school brought to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion through the application of Christian Science.*[2]

(15) Every large factory has a maintenance department the function of which is to keep all equipment in good repair and running smoothly. A

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[1] It is important to understand the Christian Science interpretation of Christ.

"Though the human Jesus is no longer with us, the Christ, the divine idea of God which Jesus expressed, is ever expressed . . . It was the Christ, the nature of God, which Jesus demonstrated [in his healing, for example] in every word and deed." ("The Light That Never Failed," C.S.M., August 3, 1949.)

[2] "Present Perfect," C.S.M., April 26, 1944; italics added, except for the word now in the fourth line from the top of the page.

factory could not get along without this department, which often continues to operate after working hours in order that everything will be in readiness for the men when they return to work the following day.

The Bible declares . . . that God created all, and that He 'saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good.' . . . Mary Baker Eddy makes this statement: 'The divine Mind that made man maintains His own image and likeness.' Christian Science reveals that *God eternally maintains man and the universe in a state of perfection, regardless of sense testimony to the contrary. Is it not reasonable to believe that since God is omnipotent and without variableness He maintains everything in His creation in its original goodness and perfection*?

But . . . [if this so], where do disease, strife, sorrow, and death come from, and why do they seem to harass mortals?' *These evils are illusions, the lies of material sense*. They never touch God's man and God's universe, since they are no part of God's creation.

The general belief in the reality of evil does not make it true. At one time mankind believed almost universally that the earth was flat. . . . the flat earth existed only in the false concept of the people. So sickness, pain, discord--all evil--exist only as the flat earth did, in belief. They have no actual existence, because God never created them. . . .

God maintains man through His eternal laws. If we are not experiencing health and harmony in our daily existence, the cause lies in wrong thinking. . . . Through the study and application of Christian Science one can cast out this wrong thinking and fill his consciousness with love, unselfishness, . . . As this is done . . . , one finds the law of God operating in his daily experience. He finds his health improved, his daily needs supplied, and greater harmony pervading his affairs.[1]

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[1] "Maintenance," C.S.M., June 12, 1944; italics supplied.

(16) The right answer always available--
A chemist, with the help of Christian Science, solves a chemical problem which has long defied his colleagues.

An invalid, in the face of apparently hopeless conditions, turns to Christian Science and is healed.

A negotiator between industrial employers and employees comes against 'a stone wall,' and through the kind of thinking taught in Christian Science finds the wall opening-- arrives at a formula in the interest of all concerned and acceptable to them all.

Fundamental in the teaching of Jesus, Christian Science shows, is the fact that there is a satisfactory answer to every question, social, economic, therapeutic, or of any other sort. And this Science reveals the technique for finding the answer always, as its students continually prove.[1]

(17) Christian Science teaches that man, as the expression of eternal, omniactive Mind, is Mind's witness, and that man's work is in truth the joyous reflection of divine activity. From this it follows that the quality of human accomplishment depends upon the degree of spirituality that one has achieved in his thinking, and hence it is independent of age.

Jesus recognized his God-derived ability when he said, 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work' . . . He understood the importance of his divinely inspired mission when he said, 'I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day' . . .

Mary Baker Eddy writes . . . , 'The song of Christian Science is, Work--work--work-- watch and pray.' And she points out further, 'The right thinker works; he gives little time to society manners or matters, and benefits society by his example and usefulness.' When right thinking governs our work, our daily occupation is not laborious, not a nose-to-the-grindstone plodding, or the expression of determined self-will which ends in exhaustion; but it is a song--glad, harmonious, free. The impulse, the strength, are of God, hence limitless.

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[1] An advertisement, C.S.M., November 25, 1944.

Love's purposes for man are always interesting, vital, varied. Dullness, the tendency to get into a rut, is in mortal thinking, which knows nothing except its own limitations, and therefore cannot rise. Stagnation and deterioration come not from seeking to express perfection, but from accepting the loveless suggestion that what we have done is 'good enough.'

Forgetting one's responsibility to one's fellowman, one may feel that perhaps he is not needed in the world. Such thinking, if not corrected with the truth that spiritual man is indispensable to God, and that his activities are necessary in the Father's plan, would rob one of inspiration and happiness. One needs always to increase his affections by reflecting more of that love which is the expression of impartial and universal Love. Reflecting Life, God, the individual who pours into his daily experience without stint his best thoughts and efforts for humanity, finds happiness, true success, and love.

In Christian Science there is no vicarious salvation, and one individual, however willing, can never do the work of another. Is not this the time for all-out service to the greatest of all causes--the establishment of harmony, justice, and brotherly love in the world? Our work is not finished until all the world awakes to the fact that man is controlled by divine Love.[1]

(18) Are you happy in your work? Joyful activity is usually productive and efficient activity. But enjoyment of one's work is not always apparent. Too often overwork produces fatigue, or a sense of strain. Under these conditions one may develop the habit of living for the moment's relaxation when he

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[1] "If My Hand Slacked," C.S.M., May 18, 1944.

is released from his daily toil, or he may even live from one week end to another, always looking forward to the rest and refreshment which too often disappoint him.

This attitude tends to lower the morale of individuals and groups. What can be done about it? What is the right concept of work? The Psalmist voiced the answer when he said . . ; 'Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children. And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us: yea, the work of our hands establish thou it.' He had glimpsed the truth which Christ Jesus saw so clearly, that all activity is spiritual. The Master said . . , 'My father worketh hitherto, and I work.' Mary Baker Eddy . . has made these Scriptural truths understandable and useable today. . . . , she writes . . : 'As astronomy reverses the human perception of the movement of the solar system, so Christian Science reverses the seeming relation of Soul and body and makes body tributary to Mind. . . .

God, then, is our true employer. And what is our employment? Christian Science teaches that we are about our Father's business, as Jesus was, when we reflect the qualities of God. . . . is it not evident that from God, who gives us our work, comes also the ability to do it?

Moreover, reflecting infinite Life, we are never idle, since our creator is never idle. . . . If all who wait around in idleness or frustration would begin the constructive work of substituting the recognition of omniactive Mind, or God, for resentment, boredom, or inertia, it would not only measurably shorten the war, but immeasurably hasten and strengthen the peace.

The realization of our oneness with God brings an effortless spontaneity which eliminates fatigue and constantly renews our energies. Mrs. Eddy says . . : 'God rests in action. Imparting has not impoverished, can never impoverish, the divine Mind. No exhaustion follows the action of this Mind, according to the apprehension of divine Science.' Knowing ourselves at one with God, reflecting Him in effortless and joyful activity, we gain a serenity and a poise which command respect, recognition, and a right return for our labor. This mental work gives strength, courage, and victory to those who fight in a just cause; it promotes speed and efficiency and eliminates error; it results in joy and fearlessness; it renders null and void the propaganda of the enemy.

In a class of about forty little boys and girls between five and six years of age in a large city school, each child had a book with easy words and pictures from which he was learning to read. Most of the children had mastered the letters, but they were at that difficult stage when c-a-t was still three letters and not a word. One day the teacher, a Christian Scientist, was fighting a sense of monotony and frustration. Everyone was working and it seemed like 'toil and sweat.' The teacher turned her thought to God as infinite intelligence, the all Mind. Then suddenly the light broke. A child made the letters say a word. The joy of discovery ran through the class. The children began to read. A little boy said, 'Ooh! Isn't it fun!' For their writing copy that day the children wrote, 'Work is fun.' From that moment it was never anything else, and their subsequent progress in the school was attended with marked success.

What about us? Are we happy in our work? If we have glimpsed something of the true nature of work as the reflection of divine activity, we shall reply truthfully, and with enthusiasm, 'Yes, we are!'[1]

(19) The Actual Science of Prayer

That prayer--for safety, health, usefulness, success, happy relations, satisfaction, or any other legitimate condition or thing--can be a scientific as well as a religious experience, and therefore unfailing in its results, is clearly shown in Christian Science.

Through growing understanding of such prayer, increasing numbers of Christian Scientists in many countries are proving its value, and thus are seeing the fulfillment of the Scriptural assurance, 'Ask,

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[1] "The Joy of Work," C.S.M., July 31, 1944.

> and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.[1]

> (20) Today Christian Science, which is based on the Master's words and works, is enabling those who understand their Father-Mother God as infinite Mind and man as His expression to gain freedom from the limitations of age, lack of ability, or lack of opportunity.
>
> . . . .
>
> A grandmother who was a beginner in the study of Christian Science told a friend that she had always wished she could paint. The friend told her to accept her God-bestowed ability to express beauty and harmony and to refuse to accept any belief that it was too late to begin. Encouraged, she sought more understanding of the harmony, perfection, and beauty of God's creation through the study and application of the truths of Christian Science. She also took the necessary human footsteps toward her goal and painted regularly. A few years later she was given a prize for a painting shown in an exhibition with works of many professional artists. She had proved that Christian Science frees from the self-imposed limitations of age and uncovers latent capacities.[2]

No attempt has been made in the selection of these excerpts to secure an accurately representative selection of the kinds and proportions of ends which Christian Scientists attempt to achieve through their faith. It is merely accidental that most of the examples date from the time when the writer began the study of Christian Science. These instances of healing are nonetheless typical in that they may be duplicated from Christian Science books and periodicals picked up and leafed through at random.

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[1] Advertisement, C.S.M., May 18, 1944.

[2] "Ability," C.S.M., August 5, 1949.

The most obvious common element is the empirical nature of the benefits achieved: sickness, loneliness, poverty, oppression, alcoholism, unhappy social and business relations, hazards in piloting a plane, dissatisfaction with one's business situation and prospects, inefficiency in industrial output, unsolved problems in chemistry, unfulfilled desires to be of service to others and to express artistic desires: all these and other obstacles of a similar nature are overcome by the correct application of Christian Science. It is literally true for the Scientist that he can solve all human problems (14), social, economic, therapeutic, etc. (16).[1]

Given the empirical ends the questions arise: How are they achieved? What is the nature of the means?

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[1] In passing it may be noted once again how clearly these ends reveal ascetic Protestant middle-class virtues, values, and ideals. Number 12 is the only explicit reference to what might be called a laborer in the Monitor's Home Forum page lessons that the writer can recall.

Although not strictly within the framework of this chapter, the congruence of number 11 with the German personality type would be complete but for the fact that the whole tendency of Christian Science, as of ascetic Protestantism, is not toward the Lutheran acceptance of one's niche in the status quo. Even number 11 has to do with a promotion.

The attitude toward work revealed in 17 and 18 is the polar development of the traditional ascetic Protestant view, again a nontraditionalistic one. That expressed in Genesis, although modified much later by the rabbis, is fundamentally different, one ignored by Christian Scienco--as is the case with the literal meaning of the Old and New Testaments regarding the fruit of the vine; and both for allied reasons.

". . . nothing is impossible with God . . . " (6); ". . . ability to do the right thing, [one's] intelligence, and strength [are] not in a material body, but in God, and that they [are] therefore, ever available and wholly adequate" (6). The pilot of a bomber "understood and applied [by "demanding" the desired results][1] "the law of God, . . . the 'deific power'" (7). Furthermore, "God is not a person in a far-off heaven, but is our very Life and Mind, and is divine Love, ever present and available" (13). God is thus equated with Love which is "on tap," ready for use, now as in the past as evidenced in the activities of Abraham, Moses, Elijah, and Jesus who applied this "Christ-principle" to various and sundry human problems. In this way the Christian Scientist, or anyone who is prepared to use this technique,[2] has "access to omnipotence" for "the solution of every human problem" (14). It is this pragmatic excellence that distinguishes Christian Science which "reveals the technique for finding the answer _always_, as its students continually prove" (16).[3] And this technique involves,

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[1] The implication of this attitude is discussed below.

[2] Here is the Christian Science version of ascetic Protestantism's direct relation of man to God without any preferred or monopolistic advantage accruing to any individual or organization. Compare _Science and Health_, pp. 12-13.

[3] Italics added.

> Prayer That Brings Results
>
> At Casablanca, in the Southwest Pacific, and elsewhere, the world has been witnessing stirring examples of answered prayer. Food, water, safety, greater effectiveness, and healing of sickness and wounds, have been acutely needed, and have come through prayer. Even sceptics, seeing the results, have been convinced.
>
> What, broadly, is the meaning of these experiences? Is there a kind of prayer that can be counted on--that is definitely available and availing under all conditions? Can there be prayer without groping, without mystery, with certainty as to its results?
>
> The answer to these questions, Christian Science shows, is unqualified. Yes. The words of the Founder of Christianity, 'Ask, and ye shall receive'--words which bore no hint of an exception--are revealed in this teaching as a statement of pure Science.
>
> There *is* a sure method of asking, and even children often use it.[1]

In short, the Christian Scientist employs a "science of prayer"; for him prayer with an empirical end in view is "a scientific as well as a religious experience, and therefore unfailing in its results" (19).

The juxtaposition of these terms, science and prayer, is a fundamental contradiction of the conceptions of science and prayer discussed in the first chapter and, hence, poses a crucial problem. It is imperative that there be no uncertainty about prayer as the Christian Scientist understands it. Mrs. Eddy's explanation is definitive:

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[1] Advertisement., C.S.M., May 26, 1944; italics in original.

> Should we implore a corporeal God to heal the sick out of His personal volition, or should we understand the infinite divine Principle which heals?[1]

God is unmoved by praise; he is unchanging wisdom and Love. Prayer brings us into harmony with the Science of being; pleading, as with a human being, perpetuates the idea that God is humanly circumscribed.[2] Christian Science therefore rejects the traditional idea of prayer which formed the basis for its definition above; there is no appeal to particularistic influences. Nor can there be any; God is a principle, not a person.

> . . . the practice of this religion [Christian Science] includes employing absolute intelligence [that is, God] in a methodical way for all of its infinite uses, and there are in human life few problems or situations, if any, for which absolute intelligence does not furnish the remedy or solution.[3]

The same author states that Jesus used a "Principle and rule" in his healing the understanding of which he had acquired. This principle was not a power peculiar to Jesus; the "Principle and rule of Christian healing . . . [is] available to all who possess the necessary understanding."[1]

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[1] Science and Health, p. 167. The Christian Science use of the term science is discussed below.

[2] Ibid., p. 2. The parallel to the conditioned love pattern and the dependability of earning affection through conformance to impersonal norms is striking.

[3] Judge Clifford P. Smith, "The ABC of the Christian Science Religion," 1931, p. 96. Judge Smith is a member of the Committee on Publication of The Mother Church. The italics are supplied; note the characteristically ascetic Protestant emphasis on order.

Mrs. Eddy elaborates on her conception of the Principle. As in mathematics, the principles are already established and one uses them to solve a problem.

> His [God] work is done, and we have only to avail ourselves of God's rule in order to receive this blessing which enables us to work out our own salvation.[2]

The individual must act to improve himself, not depend on God.[3] Further, "There is some misapprehension of the source and means of all goodness and blessedness, or we should *certainly* receive that for which we ask."[4]

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 96-97. Among the infinity of uses Judge Smith mentions one nonempirical end rarely seen in Christian Science literature: preparation for the heavenly hereafter.

[2] *Science and Health*, p. 3. The characteristic ascetic Protestant accent on self-reliance and confidence in the results of one's own findings. This comes out clearly in a *Monitor* lesson based on this quotation from Mrs. Eddy. The author of this lesson cites Mrs. Eddy's words prior to those given above: "' Who would stand before a blackboard, and pray the principle of mathematics to solve the problem? The rule is already established, and it is our task to work out the solution. Shall we ask the divine Principle of all goodness to do His own work?'" ("Prayer Is Not Enough!" December 29, 1947.) The reference to mathematics is reminiscent of the 18th century Protestant English preference for this field, as is the "Newtonian" conception of the relation between God and nature.

[3] The dynamic self-reliance of Protestantism is clearly enunciated. This is the emphasis of Christian Science and the literal message of excerpt 11 above is placed in a different light. See also p. 6 of *Science and Health*.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 10; italics added.

> In divine Science, where prayers are mental, *all* may avail themselves of God as 'a very present help in trouble.' Love is impartial and universal in its adaptation and bestowals.[1]

Here as elsewhere the emphasis is upon automaticity of results consequent upon the correct use of an impersonal nonempirical force. But, as these quotations indicate (there are numerous others throughout her writings), Mrs. Eddy was not exactly clear about her conception of God; at times the reader is given the impression that He is an impersonal force, but elsewhere the context seems to argue that He is a supernatural person. For example, when the Christian Scientist asks for things which are not received it is because they are not always for the best interest of the individual.[2] It would seem that this judicious selectivity is more consonant with the conception of a personal sacred entity. The predominant impression, however, is that Mrs. Eddy thinks of God as an impersonal force.

> If the student adheres strictly to the teachings of Christian Science and ventures not to break its rules, *he cannot fail of success in healing*.[3]

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 12-13; Mrs. Eddy's italics.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 10.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 448; italics added. This success also involves virtuous living, thinking, and feeling, a way of life dependent upon complete and deliberate self-discipline. Compare page 452 for example. The resemblance to the ascetic Protestant personality type is evident. Again, the emotional aspect of life is belittled in the application of Christian Science. Help for the sick should come not from blind belief as in the common (Continued on the following page)

It is possible to understand, not reconcile, the contradiction if it is remembered that successful achievement is never a certainty; failures do occur and often in matters of the most serious concern. Two solutions are offered: (1) The technique has not been employed accurately or one's life has not been wholly impeccable. While this is logically unassailable and is the kind of exculpation met with in nonliterate societies, it has the disadvantage of throwing all of the responsibility and the attendant strains upon the believer. And it would seem that this is not always possible even for so toughly self-reliant and responsible a type as the Christian Scientist. It is therefore in the more than ordinarily affective situations of life that the Christian Scientist may invoke the second conception of God; (2) God is a person who in His wisdom withholds that which is asked knowing that it would not be for the best interest of the Christian Scientist. This explanation not only has the merit of protecting the believer's assurance of his ethical behavior, religious faith and correct application of Christian Science technique but, and this may be equally

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[3] (Continued from the previous page) practice of prayer but "from the enlightened understanding" (p. 12). (This incidentally, is typically Puritan and parallels in the nonempirical sphere the Puritan drive for understanding God's handiwork, the physical universe, and its principles.) The proper technique involves emotional discipline, silent prayer, silencing of the material senses; the correct prayer ". . . is answered, in so far as we put our desires into practice." (p. 15)

important, it also relieves the individual of ultimate responsibility for his failure.[1]

The clash between these opposing conceptions of God is paralleled by another. If a deity is looked upon as a person there is no logical or psychological difficulty in referring to him as a loving father or mother, or even as a loving Father-Mother as Christian Scientists do; hermaphroditism may occur among supernatural as well as natural entities. Nor is it illegitimate to couple omnipotence with love and morality as attributes of divine personality.[2] But it is difficult if not impossible to endow in any meaningful sense an impersonal force with the qualities of goodness and love; electricity may be put to good or bad uses, depending on the standard, but it is neither good nor bad in itself. This incongruity derives from the psychology of the Christian Science personality type with its dynamic orientation toward control and its overwhelming need for affection. The former "requires" an omnipotent impersonal force which can be manipulated at will; the latter is met by equating this force with boundless love[3] that is always available to the believer, as well as by the conception of God as bisexual: Father-Mother God. Power and love are fused in the Principle of Christian Science. The psychological appropriateness for the Christian Scientist of an impersonal loving Father-Mother God-Principle always on tap for all his wants runs into logical difficulties complicated by the empirical fact that all wants are not attained. The Christian Scientist's explanations for this have already been mentioned. But there is another problem: What is the relation between the human actor and an omnipotent deity who does not always act as the individual desires? This problem, it seems to the present writer, is ignored, with action and doctrine often taking one position, and doctrine frequently taking another. Thus, in an article on "The Lord's Prayer," the following appears:

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[1] But compare the citation and footnote immediately above.

[2] Christian Science solves the theodicy problem arising from this combination of divine qualities by dismissing as unreal the entire material world and its attendant evils which are but "errors" of "mortal mind." Responsibility for evil rests not on God who is equated with Good in Christian Science (Science and Health, p. 587) but on man who blindly depends upon the evidence of his "five corporeal senses."

[3] Note the significant phrase, "a spirit of love,
(Continued on the following page)

> The acknowledgment of God's fatherhood and motherhood brings a comforting sense of our sonship with Him and of our fellowship with our brother. God's hallowed oneness and allness acknowledged and held to in spite of any adversity, lessens suffering and brings peace to the heart.
>
> The understanding that God's kingdom has come, that here and now His ever-presence is a fact to be relied upon, destroys our fear and apprehension. Recognition of *His will as supreme silences the clamoring of human will*. The assurance that the bread we ask for daily includes the grace and love the famished affections crave, calms thought and stills all restlessness.

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[3] (Continued from the previous page) impersonal and unobtrusive affection" used by Steiger (p. 170) in describing his experience with Christian Science worship.

> The fact that God loves and forgives us inspires us with love and forgiveness for each other. And oh, the joy of knowing that He does not lead us into temptation, but delivers us from every form of suffering, including the fear of death. Gladly we declare that the kingdom and power and glory are His; that He is All.[1]

The italicized portion unreservedly acknowledges the supremacy of God while other lessons and many passages in *Science and Health* promise that the individual can solve *all* his problems, including his need for affection by making use of God (-Principle). In fact, as the previous citations demonstrate, the unfailing efficacy of Christian Science is the main burden of this faith's appeal and practice. It is only verbally that the literature describes man as submissive to and dependent on the will of an omnipotent supernatural personality, while verbally and in action the believer proceeds upon the other view, that this "personality" is an impersonal force which is at man's disposal.

This ambivalence is associated in turn with two alternate conceptions of human personality. There are in Christian Science literature many disparagements of "personality" but a study of the context will usually, if not always, show that what is condemned is not the "strong" or decisive person who goes about achieving his purpose despite all obstacles but the "emotional" individual with little control of the impulse life.

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[1] C.S.M., August 12, 1949; italics added.

This attitude is but a special case of the ascetic Protestant's organized and disciplined will oriented to this-worldly activities. The significance of the title of a *Monitor* article already cited (5), "Conquerors All," lies in its relation to this ambiguity of conception of personality; the content of the article confirms the present writer's analysis: Under the guise of passivity, of submission to God, the emotionally disciplined individual accomplishes his will.

> Christian Science makes clear the need of beginning with ourselves in our work of reconstruction. Mary Baker Eddy writes . . . : 'Christian Science commands man to master the propensities,--*to hold hatred in abeyance with kindness, to conquer lust with chastity, revenge with charity, and to overcome deceit with honesty*. Choke these errors in their early stages if you would not cherish an army of conspirators against health, happiness, and success.'
>
> Every spiritually-minded individual desires to overcome the evil tendencies of the carnal mind, and to outgrow its limitations. . . . *When we relinquish human will and material outlining, we open the door for all the good that God has planned for us*. Surely it is well worth while to say humbly and earnestly: 'I will let God's will be done. I will bear witness to good, to infinite Spirit.'[1]

This certainly is the more easily done if one is thereby enabled to

> 'Meet every adverse circumstance as its master.'
>
> . . . Christian Science brings to the one or ones

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[1] Italics added.

> concerned the *unqualified assurance*, backed now by the experience of countless thousands, that the difficulty [*whatever* it is] is not insuperable.[1]

Again, compare two citations from the same article:

> . . . Mary Baker Eddy writes . . .: 'When we fully understand our relation to the Divine, we can have no other Mind but His,--no other Love, wisdom, or Truth, no other sense of Life, and no consciousness of the existence of matter or error.' But mankind has ever accepted the idolatrous belief that life is in matter, and that matter has intelligence, power, and substance. Among the more prevalent forms of idolatry resulting from the belief of matter existence are the worship of human personality, either one's own or another's; the deification of the human mind; *the lust for temporal power and material possessions*; the fear of evil, sin, sickness, and death.
>
> . . . Mrs. Eddy states, 'Evil was, and is, the illusion of breaking the First Commandment, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me.' There is no reference to evil in the first chapter of Genesis, the true record of creation. Here the Bible asserts . . . , 'God saw everything that he made, and, behold, it was very good.' How important it is that we understand the illusive nature of evil and refuse to accept it as a reality! Evil in the guise of material sense may try persistently to claim a place in our thinking, but it can never compel us to accept it. Obedience to the First Commandment overcomes the temptation to fear the boastful threats, cunning devices, and deceptive propaganda of evil, and enables us to nullify its fictitious power by realizing its godlessness and nothingness. *Mankind will obtain health, freedom, security, and peace only as it is convinced of the unreal nature of matter* and evil, and demonstrates the allness of Spirit and the infinitude of good.[2]

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[1] Advertisement, C.S.M., November 11, 1946; italics added.

[2] "The First Commandment," C.S.M., July 17, 1944; italics added.

It may be debated whether the desire for the various successfully achieved empirical ends described in the excerpts above is lust, but there is no doubt at all that most of them are "material" and that they were achieved by the correct manipulation of a nonempirical force. And this force is described again and again as not anthropomorphic (despite equally frequent passages to the contrary effect).

> Prayer to God as a person carries the assumption that if sufferings are portrayed vividly enough God's sympathy will be aroused and His aid enlisted. Humanity has long had this sense of prayer and his experienced repeated disappointments in the results.
>
> Such a humanized sense of God finds no place in prayer in Christian Science. 'The Christian Science God, declares . . . Mary Baker Eddy. 'is universal, eternal, divine Love, which changeth not, and causeth no evil, disease, nor death.' With this understanding of God, the motive in prayer involves no personal sense, but is rather to 'do all things to the glory of God,' to bear witness to the true nature of God.[1]

The particularistic appeal to a divinity's emotion is rejected on pragmatic as well as dogmatic grounds: it often fails. And "personality" in the depreciated sense is disavowed; the correct understanding and "application" of God "involves no personal sense." Apparently the motive of correct prayer is not lust. The pejorative connotation of this term is in fact irrelevant so far as the utilization of Christian Science is concerned because it is applicable in behalf of good and evil purposes--as Mrs. Eddy's references to Malicious Animal Magnetism admit. If it is argued that Mind (God, Good, Love, etc.) is not the agency at work in attaining evil ends then the implication follows that some nonempirical entity other than God, Satan (Bad, Hate, etc.) perhaps, is effective for attaining such ends. If, however, the position is taken that bad ends are really achieved by "material" (that is, illusory from the Christian Science viewpoint) means then it is logical to argue that material means are efficacious for good purposes also. Then the resort to nonempirical instruments is superfluous. This, of course, would cut the ground from beneath Christian Science and must be regarded as erroneous by its adherents. The upshot of these implications seems to be that the successful attainment of any objective striven for by a Christian Scientist is proof that it and its nonempirical implementation are ethically sound; success is the proof of virtue.[1]

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[1] "Right Motive in Prayer," C.S.M., September 4, 1946; italics added.

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[1] This is of course the Puritan position; God blesses his own. The sharp dealing associated with Puritan businessmen is not altogether unknown among Christian Scientists. The twisting of ethical norms to one's personal interests is potential in Christian Science because there is the tendency to interpret what is wanted as ethically desirable and validated by the Good Provider; thwarting conditions are merely errors of false belief that are to be overcome. An instance of this is found in the court testimony of one of Mrs. Eddy's followers who was expelled from the movement as a powerful rival, Mrs. Augusta Stetson. (Bates and Dittemore, pp. 436-439.)

There is another point which must be considered: the Christian Scientist insists that Science is scientific in the the sense of modern empirical science, although the Monitor for example, in its news columns often interpolates natural in brackets before science or scientist. It will be recalled that in citation 19 the statement was made that "prayer . . . can be a scientific . . . experience, and therefore unfailing in its results." The appearance of the two quotations below from a Monitor article suggests the identity in Christian Scientists' thought of science and Science.

> As a result of the scientific discoveries that make time and space no longer the wide separators of countries that they were in the past, peoples of the world are drawing ever closer together. Individuals divided by thousands of miles of continent and ocean can today literally pay "a flying visit" to each other's hemispheres and be back in their own homes again in the space of a few hours!
>
> The realization that God is the only Mind reveals the comforting truth that Mind does not have to travel by train or plane to be felt as a healing factor. It heals those who are afar off as well as those who are at hand. Indeed, it is being proved over and over again by those who turn whole-heartedly to God for help, that the "still, small voice" of scientific thinking reaches to the farthest corners of the earth![1]

Citation 16 above in which "a chemist with the help of Christian Science, solves a chemical problem . . . " makes the same identification. Mrs. Eddy asserts[2] that the use of

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[1] March 22, 1945.

[2] Science and Health, p. 463.

Christian Science in delivery results in a safe natural birth, painless to the mother. This statement is of strategic importance because physicians have long known that the elimination of fear often modifies and can at times entirely remove the pains of parturition. A *Monitor* lesson bears directly on this point.

> Everyone is interested in discoveries. Newspapers recently reported the findings of a medical study conducted by a large American university, wherein it was found that headaches were readily cured by make-believe drugs given without identification as such. Such results point to the mental influence which clothes drugs and hint that human existence is more mental than material. A philosophical observer wrote of mortal man many centuries ago (Proverbs 23:7), 'As he thinketh in his heart, so is he.'
>
> The greatest discovery in relation to the health of mankind reveals man's true being as spiritual. . . . She (Mrs. Eddy) discerned the mental nature of all inharmony and discord and explained why drugs sometimes seem to cure. . . . in 1875, she says, 'When the sick recover by the use of drugs, it is the law of a general belief, culminating in individual faith, which heals; and according to this faith will the effect be.'
>
> *Christian Science healing rests solely upon God as the curative power.* This was the effective healing method of Christ. . . .
>
> Her discovery of the Science of Christ Jesus' teachings, *her scientific proof of its present heal-efficacy, her explanations of matter's illusory nature either as substance or as law*, authenticate Mrs. Eddy's prophetic words. . . .[1]

Further,

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[1] "Discoveries," C.S.M., August 10, 1949; italics added.

> Christian Science healing is not the action of one mind upon another. Christian Scientists heed Paul's counsel . . ., 'Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus.' Christian Science recognizes but one Mind, the infinite divine Mind, or God, and man as the perfect idea or reflection of Mind; *hence healing in Christian Science is not of a hypnotic or mesmeric nature, one human mind controlling another*. . . .
>
> Mrs. Eddy writes . . : 'The divine Mind that made man maintains His own image and likeness.'[1]

One more:

> An article in a well-known periodical of general circulation points out that physicians . . . know well how often people fall ill from their inner worries, resentments, and despairs. The article quotes a prominent physician as saying that the chronic victim of pains and aches may be suffering from nursing a smoldering grudge against someone close to him, and is usually unaware that he bears a chronic resentment.
>
> Nearly seventy-five years ago, Mary Baker Eddy published 'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures,' a book which clearly points out the mental nature of disease and shows how it is healed by spiritual means alone, as illustrated in the teaching and healing works of Christ Jesus. Since its publication, countless people have been healed of every type of disease by the application of the truths presented in this book--sometimes with the aid of a Christian Science practitioner, *often merely by reading the book itself*.
>
> Christian Science heals through spiritually mental means alone; through prayer which knows God as infinite, divine Mind, and therefore the source and substance of all true thought. Thought which proceeds from this Mind reflects the purity of Mind in which are no diseased thought-germs, no worries, resentments, and despairs.

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[1] "One Healing Power," C.S.M., August 2, 1949; italics supplied.

> The writer knows of a man, an employee in a busy department of an airplane factory, who seemed to be in constant pain because of stomach disorder which finally developed into a condition which the doctors diagnosed as incurable. He was taken to a city where he underwent a thorough examination in a clinic staffed by some of the leading surgeons in the country. After the examination they refused to operate, saying that an operation would not benefit him, and they advised that he go to a Christian Science practitioner. The man returned to his home, consulted a Christian Science practitioner in his own community, and was completely healed in one treatment. He became an earnest student of this Science.
>
> It is interesting to note that *the surgeons did not recommend a psychiatrist, but a Christian Science practitioner* [sic]. This Science enables us to see the allness of God, good, and the consequent unreality of worries, resentments, despairs, as well as the unreality of sickness; to see them as false beliefs which vanish in the enlightened recognition that there is but one Mind, and that Mind is the Mind of man.
>
> For hundreds of years men have read in their Bibles of healing through enlightened prayer. Now with the world coming to a fuller recognition of the mental nature of what appears as physical disease, and a wider acknowledgment of the healing power of spiritual understanding, we can see the dawn of a new day as prophesied in the book of Revelation (21:3,4).[1]

It would seem to be clear that Christian Science rejects completely the explanations proffered by psychologists and other empirical scientists while accepting their discoveries as proof of the operation of nonempirical entities as proclaimed by Christian Science. If Mrs. Eddy is taken literally the whole structure of modern science is to be rejected despite the frequent resort to its findings and practical achievements. She defines,

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[1] "The Mental Nature of Healing," C.S.M., April 5, 1948; italics added.

> Knowledge. Evidence obtained from the five corporeal senses; mortality; beliefs and opinions; human theories, doctrines, hypotheses; that which is not divine and is the origin of sin, sickness, and death; the opposite of spiritual Truth and understanding.[1]

It does not seem too rash to hold that all scientists agree that science is both a product of their "corporeal senses," a body of human theories and hypotheses and wholly empirical. The entire corpus of modern science is a creation of "mortal mind," an imposing example of "false belief." Mrs. Eddy rejects the empirical approach to healing employed by the psychologist or psychiatrist when utilizing the confidence of the patient in himself and in medication.[2] The use of research findings showing the influence of "mind over matter" as constituting scientific evidence in support of Christian Science is a confusion of wholly different conceptions. The scientist or medical man remains within the sphere of empirical relations and sequences; the Christian Scientist does not. The physician operates with empirical entities, among other things beliefs and their influence on the body and social relations. Psychosomatics is a branch of the art of medicine rejected by Christian Science. The latter also operates with belief and its consequences, but the effective agent is not the concepts or the belief but the nonempirical referents represented or set in motion by the concepts or belief in them. The positions of physician or psychologist and Christian Scientist are reciprocal. For the former the efficacy of Christian Science is an instance of psychotherapy; it lies in the empirical relationship between empirical entities: faith in certain doctrines and the psychosomatic consequences. For the Christian Scientist the effective agent in the physician's healing by the use of placebo, medication, or faith in the physician is a nonempirical entity.[1]

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[1] Science and Health, p. 590. Presumably Mrs. Eddy's writings were neither a product of her "corporeal senses" nor a body of "human theories, doctrines, [and] hypotheses." She could not, as a corporeal being, have had anything to do with them.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

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[1] "If we understood the control of Mind over body, we should put no faith in material means." (Science and Health, p. 169.) Mind, with a capital M, and God are synonymous in Christian Science.

An eminent psychiatrist devotes this passage to Christian Science:

"The healing which has been the work of faith proves what man can do for himself. Indeed, the practice of Christian Science has been confused by many (although not by Christian Scientists) with psychosomatic techniques. For the belief that illness is error has a calming, healing effect upon the individual. It may prevent or remove a disease symptom which stems from emotional conflict. Such faith gives to many the temporary freedom from symptoms which others achieve by understanding the relations of their own mental disturbances to the bodily ailment." (Flanders Dunbar, 1947, p. 247.)

Christian Science provides a "rationalized"

(Continued on the following page)

The difference lies in the impossibility of proving or disproving by empirical standards the existence and causality of a nonempirical entity. A single instance will suffice to point up the difficulty.

> It was Christmas Eve, nearly midnight, and the few hurrying cars told of people intent on reaching home, ready for the joys of the next day. But in the little sedan at the side of the road, husband and wife were discouraged, for their car had run out of gas, and where could they find any at that time of night? They had passed only closed stations for many blocks. The husband finally walked up the long hill, hoping he could see the lights of a station ahead.
>
> Just then a car came to a stop beside the sedan, and a woman's voice cheerfully called, 'Hello, is there anything I can do?' The wife explained the situation, adding that her husband evidently had not found a station, for she could see him coming back down the hill.
>
> 'I'll go meet him--we'll find something!' was the call, and the other car went on to pick up the husband. The first seven stations they tried

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[1] (Continued from the previous page) understanding and treatment based upon its theological doctrine whereas successful psychosomatic therapy provides the patient with a rational (according to modern psychosocial tenets) understanding of the personal and emotional difficulties involved in his ailment. This difference in technique should not be overemphasized to the disadvantage of Christian Science for sincere belief in and application of Christian Science can often so alter for the better attitudes and relations to oneself and others that emotional conflicts are modified or resolved; schismogenetic relations can be prevented or aborted, and along with them their social, psychic and somatic consequences. On the other hand Christian Science and psychosomatic healing have their limits. Compare Dunbar's account of a genuine and a pseudo attack of appendicitis (pp. 41-42.).

> were closed, even those which usually kept open all night, and then the woman remembered one on a side road. It was open, and in a few minutes they were back at the little sedan with a can of gasoline. The other driver waited to make sure that all went well, and then drove on with another cheery call, 'Good night! Merry Christmas!'
>
> It was indeed a Merry Christmas for that couple, as they called their thanks to the stranger who had turned back to help them.[1]

The present writer has no doubt that this incident would have constituted proof of the efficacy of Christian Science had either or both the man and wife been Christian Scientists. It is readily apparent that the instances of healing cited at the beginning of this chapter are of the same nature; they are all examples of *post hoc, propter hoc* reasoning. But this is not necessarily an indictment of Christian Scientists' rationality; given their premises as to the nature and availability of the nonempirical, the reasoning is sound.[2]

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[1] "Christmas Eve Incident," C.S.M., December 23, 1948, p. 13.

[2] Christian Science is "subjectively" rational given its assumptions as to the nature and cure of disease, however irrational (or nonrational perhaps) as an objectively correct action. But even on the objective level it may claim rationality to the extent it is successful. On the other hand the nonbeliever may deny this latter claim and its basis on the ground that what is at work are not the imputed nonempirical but "material" empirical factors. Thus a psychologist may encourage a person to take up Christian Science or some other faith for these latter reasons and, should alleviation of the ailment occur, claim that his suggestion was completely (overtly and subjectively) rational.

The examination of one more aspect of Mrs. Eddy's exposition of her doctrine will conclude the evidence necessary for a definitive conception of the nature of Christian Science. It is characteristic that Mrs. Eddy may be quoted for and against a given position. The writer of a Monitor article cited above[1] quotes her as follows:

> When the sick recover by the use of drugs, it is the law of a general belief, culminating in individual faith, which heals; and according to their faith will the effect be.

Here, then, faith seems to be the important element. The same point of view is found elsewhere in Science and Health[2] when the remedy for cases of sickness which the Scientist finds difficult to cure is more faith in God. But a score of pages later Mrs. Eddy writes,

> Not understanding Christian Science, the sick usually have little faith in it till they feel its benevolent influence. This shows that faith is not the healer in *such* cases.[3]

Here the effect is felt *before* faith is present, while at the beginning of *Science and Health* "mere emotional ecstasy or faith" is disparaged.[4] Indeed, if the long chapter, "Fruitage," is examined there are found cases in which apparently healings have occurred merely through reading Science and Health.[1] There is then a definite tendency to reduce prayer, as the Christian Scientist understands it, to simple ritual reading of a sacred text, despite the emphasis on emotional discipline. The latter tends to be stressed more when healer and healed are one, less so in "absent healing" and the healing of infants, animals and persons who do not know that they have been cured by a Christian Scientist. A recent article is to the point:

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[1] "Discoveries," August 10, 1949.

[2] P. 373; also p. 398.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 394; italics added. The italicized word implies that in other cases faith *is* the therapeutic agent.

[4] P. 14.

> In Science and Health we read . . : 'Is a man sick if the material senses indicate that he is in good health? No! for matter can make no conditions for man. And is he well if the senses say he is sick? Yes, he is well in Science in which health is normal and disease is abnormal.'
>
> These truths were proved in the experience of a man of middle age who had suffered from asthma since childhood. In great need of healing, he reached out to an acquaintance for help. This friend, who was a Christian Scientist, offered to give him Christian Science treatment. He accepted the offer gratefully.
>
> No questions were asked regarding the name or nature of the disease, nor was any information volunteered by the man, but throughout the day the Scientist joyfully acknowledged the foregoing facts in regard to God, man, and health. The

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[1] For example, pp. 688-689, 612-614, 663. There are cases, according to an advertisement in the C.S.M. of January 22, 1948, when "A Healing [was] Received While Reading the Christian Science Sentinel." More usually it is the textbook, Science and Health.

> result was that the man was healed in that one treatment, and the healing has been permanent. Not until many months later did the student who did the healing work learn the name of the disease that had been healed.[1]

Correct belief and behavior are required of the Scientist (lay or practitioner) but not necessarily of the person (or animal) healed. The subsidiary or incidental nature of ethical requirements on the part of the object of Christian Science healing is most clearly demonstrated in animal healings;[2] the animadversions upon "mental malpractice" in _Science and Health_ and other of Mrs. Eddy's writings show that ethical behavior on the part of the manipulator of nonempirical forces for evil ends is also secondary. It might be argued that _Christian Science_ is not at work but some evil version of it. Admitted; but the admission grants the main point; nonempirical forces may be used (like a knowledge of medicine, or chemistry) for _any_ empirical end by _anyone_ who understands the technique. Disease may be created as well as cured; the claim made in a _Monitor_ advertisement for _Science and Health_ cuts both ways:

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[1] "Health Belongs to Man," C.S.M., August 22, 1949. This lesson also is useful in underlining the fact that healing is not a monopoly of the practitioner; the lay Scientist can and does heal.

[2] The writer listened to a testimonial at a Christian Science service by a young college-bred woman in which she related her cure of a pet kitten.

> The disappearance of organic and functional disease, as well as trouble in other forms, is continually recorded among those who have turned to Christian Science for help.
>
> The method of such overcoming of difficulty is prayer--a manner of thinking--based on the teachings of Christ Jesus.
>
> What this prayer is and how *anyone* may understand it and use it effectually in accordance with *his need* are fully explained in the Christian Science textbook, . . .[1]

One may believe that the way out of his trouble might lie in destroying or incapacitating another.

The conclusion of this chapter then is that the Christian Scientist can and does consciously set in motion nonempirical forces for the automatic achievement of his empirical ends.[2] This it will be recalled is the technical definition of magic arrived at in the first chapter. In Christian Science normally as in magic the locus of decision is with the human actor. It is this characteristic which is perhaps the most striking feature of a religious movement developing within ascetic Protestantism. There can be no doubt that Christian Science is a Protestant sect historically, in the religious upbringing of its founder and the overwhelming majority of its adherents, and psychologically in the personality type that it attracts and molds. If this is the case then the attention of this study is brought back to the questions with which it started:

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[1] Reference lost; italics added.

[2] Whether he has nonempirical ends as objectives is discussed in the final chapter.

(1) The evidence thus far presented briefly in the second chapter supports Max Weber's view as to the importance of Protestantism in breaking down and removing the magical attitude and ideology from the West.

(2) The evidence of this chapter confirms Malinowski's judgment that Christian Science is a set of magical practices,[1]

(3) While the major portion of the remainder of the study demonstrates on the cultural level the ascetic Protestant nature of Christian Science. These affirmative replies to the three questions posed at the outset of the inquiry create a "trilemma" the solution to which constitutes the burden of the next and final chapter.

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[1] 1935, v. 2, pp. 236-237.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVOLUTION OF A GOD

It is now possible to come to grips with the central problem of this monograph, that posed by the development of an ascetic Protestant movement in which the practice of magic is the predominant feature despite the basically antagonistic attitude of ascetic Protestantism toward magic. In the analysis of the nature of ritual and prayer it was argued that different conceptions of the nonempirical were bound up with differences in attitudes and relations to the supernatural. Then it was briefly suggested in the chapter on the sociological aspects of affectional frustration that the specific combination of ascetic Protestant religious beliefs concerning the Deity was fundamentally opposed to magic. Given these elements and the prominence of the Old Testament in Calvinism and allied developments, it would seem logical to begin the solution of the problem of the relation of Christian Science and Protestantism with an examination of the conception of God and the attitude toward magic among the ancient Hebrews.

I. THE HEBREW GOD

It is convenient to begin with a differentiation of two types of Old Testament law and the implications of one of these for the nature of its divine promulgator. Through an analysis of the sentence structure it has been possible to distinguish what Alt has designated as casuistically formulated law, a type of law whose propositions describe, define, and delimit cases, and provide standards guiding examinations and judgment. This casuistic law ignores the priesthood and mentions sacred jurisdiction only when legal acts require consummation before the divinity; the genuine sacred law, especially that concerned with cult practices in relation to God, remains outside the domain of casuistic law propositions.[1] A typical instance of casuistic law is Exodus 21:18-19, in which there are six major propositions prefaced by Ki in the Hebrew, Gesetzt in the German and If in English, and three minor propositions starting with Im, wenn, and if--all in the third person.

> And if men strive together, and one smite another with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keepeth his bed: If he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit; only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

But although casuistic law is an integral and substantial part of Israelite secular life (slave law, blood right, revenge, or requital for bodily injuries, injuries to cattle and fields, embezzlement of deposited good, marriage law), there is nothing specifically Israelitic about it. The word Ivri is not used in a nationalistic sense; legally it occurs when one sells himself into slavery for debt. The Hebrew slave is not given any preferential treatment over the non-Hebrew. The significance of this nationalistic neutrality lies in the fact that this characteristic of the Book of the Covenant is also present in other Near Eastern legal codes, the Babylonian, the Assyrian, and Hittite for example.[1] Another aspect of the matter (which Alt does not mention specifically) in relation to the law of slavery as regards the Hebrews is that the essentially nomadic life of the ancient Hebrews provided relatively small opportunity for the profitable use of slaves in any extensive way. The casuistic law is most plausibly interpreted as part of a corpus common to a widespread contemporary and older sedentary Near Eastern society whose law code in regard to slavery viewed Hebrew slaves as impartially as any other, since they were but one among many ethnic groups which were subject to the possibility of enslavement for debt. In an agricultural society where credit is available, interest high and freedom not institutionalized the loss of one's land through debt and enslavement as repayment are commonplace.[2] This is why casuistic law is impersonal and a-nationalistic about slaves and other aspects in the Hexateuch. This interpretation is congruent with Alt's explanation of the use of a *general* term for God in both the casuistic Israelitic (Elohim) and Hammurabic law: This deliberate vagueness in the latter is understandable in the context of polytheism in the Near East. If the code had to deal with legal matters in different areas with different gods then it could not use any specific name of a god. This conclusion also ties in with the weak religious element in the casuistic Israelite law and this indicates that the casuistic part is of non-Israelite origin. It would seem to follow that the incoming Hebrew nomads, or semi-nomads, took over from the inhabitants of Palestine, the Canaanites, not only their economic and agricultural pursuits but the associated casuistic legal order.[1] But the Hebraic influence breaks in upon the casuistic law in the form of a different linguistic style and legal structure as, for example, in Deuteronomy 15:12 and Exodus 21: 23-25. Here the impersonal and grammatically complex sentence structure gives way to the direct address (thou, you) in terse language, the *lex talionis*; the crude harsh desert law forces its way into the older and milder casuistic law.[2]

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[1] Albrecht Alt, 1934, pp. 12-17.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 17-19.

[2] The example of the ancient Greeks comes to mind.

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 23-25.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 34-36.

Two basically different law codes collide. In Exodus 21: 13-14 it is Yahweh, I, who breaks in with crushing force upon the quietly flowing sentences of the casuistic law, and with overpowering brevity demands the death penalty for a killing, whether it be murder or manslaughter, if the culprit is known (Ex. 21:12). In the Hebrew the style and content are impressive in their curtly unconditional command; it is Yahweh who lays down the apodictic law[1] to his audience in five words wholly at variance with the dry, lengthy and involved casuistic type before and after this verse.[2] Furthermore, in contrast to the profane content of the casuistic portions religion, custom, and law are undifferentiated in the apodictic law, with everything dependent upon the unconditioned will of Yahweh.[3] It is this characteristic, the subjection of the whole community in all its aspects, sacral as well as legal, to Yahweh which constitutes the striking feature of Israel. (The casuistic law is outside this relationship.)[4] This communal subjection to Yahweh is supported by the method of punishment that is designated by the apodictic law for violation of its decrees: stoning by the populace.[1] There is in short nothing of Canaanitic derivation in this type of law which is completely bound up with the Israelitic community and Yahweh.[2] It is this relation of Yahweh and Israel, born in the desert and based upon the covenant which tradition attributed to the Mosaic period, that is central in the creation of Israel as a people from the preexisting tribes.[3] The sacred canon is correct when it derives everything valid in Israelitic law from a connection with the establishment of the confederacy in the time of Moses.

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[1] Alt's terminology.

[2] Pp. 39-43. This law was written, the other probably spoken (pp. 61-4).

[3] Pp. 47-49.

[4] P. 23.

The dualism of the incoming, expansive, sacred apodictic law proceeding from Yahweh's sanctuary and the traditional, profane casuistic law of the Canaanites (and other Near Eastern peoples) reveals the impact of the invading Hebrew culture dominated by the covenant between semi-nomadic desert tribes and their omnipotent deity who would recognize no area of life but which must submit to His unconditioned and unbridled will.[4] It is of fundamental historical importance and crucial to the solution of the problem of the relation of magic to

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[1] P. 47.

[2] P. 60.

[3] P. 69.

[4] Pp. 70-71. This pervasive character of the religious life still characterizes orthodox Judaism.

Protestantism that there was something unique in the Hebrew culture which differentiated it from other Near Eastern societies and enabled it in conflict with its Palestinian host to create something new, something other than the ordinary run of ancient Oriental culture.[1] This unique something of the Hebrew tribes was the configuration of traits constituting their ideas about Yahweh, and fundamental to this conception was the unbounded will of an anthropomorphically conceived transcendental personality. He was regarded as the "Creator of All" (but not identified with His creation) who "stood alone, without any family connections," who was "not restricted to any special abode," "could not be represented in any visible or tangible form" and, finally, who commanded the Israelites "_not_ to commit sin, _because_ _Yahweh_ _so_ _wills_."[2] The sole and sufficient validation of the Israelites' "command ethics" (the Ten Commandments), "Thou shalt not," is "I am the Lord thy God."[3] Beyond this there is no other validation; a millenium later Job bows before it.

The significance of the Hebraic conception of the deity is complex. Although He was the Lord of creation He was under no circumstances identified with it; He was a transcendental not an immanental nonempirical entity. Associated with and emphasizing this aspect is the fact that despite His personality He lacked a family;, He could not therefore be easily associated with the concept of fertility with all its potentialities for orgiastic worship. Although Yahweh blessed the land and bade Israel be fruitful and multiply, sex remained a wholly natural (and desirable) attribute; the desire for offspring and agricultural fruitfulness could not, at least readily, press into its service the power of Yahweh and thus prepare the way for His subjection to empirical ends. His transcendental nature could not be associated with such ends as is more readily the case with gods of an immanental type. While Yahweh was not restricted to any particular locality and could always be approached anywhere by His worshippers, this aspect was not to be an opening whereby the Israelites could transform Him into an immanental deity. This was rendered all the more difficult by the unlimited forcefulness of Yahweh which was symbolized by and driven home into the Hebraic consciousness by two features of His theophany: the mingling of a volcanic eruption and a subtropical thunder-storm. Furthermore, the conception of Yahweh as one term of a contractual relationship with the Israelites, collectively and individually, in a military-political undertaking also worked in this same anti-immanental direction. It helps explain the apodictic law with its direct, terse, and categorical orders in regard to both ritual and ethical conduct; as the Commander-in-Chief of the amphictyonic league, entrusted with the task of conquering the Promised Land, Yahweh demanded full and unconditioned obedience.

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[1] P. 70.

[2] Albright, 196-207.

[3] The significance of the use of the first person singular with reference to ethical demands will be enlarged upon presently.

For the striking difference between this transcendentalism of a personal Yahweh and the ancient Near Eastern conception of divinity

> . . . we have only to glance at the mythologies, the iconographies, and the litanies to see that Near-Eastern gods shifted in disconcerting fashion from astral form to zoomorphic, dendromorphic, and composite manifestations.[1]

and thereby revealed their impersonal and immanental nature. As Weber points out, almost all these gods had astral and vegetative traits and were very much alike; however they developed toward personality, originally the heavenly spirit was not to be separated from the stars. There was a backward-moving tendency toward impersonality; the highest heaven gods were everywhere abstract and foreign to the folk-culture.[2] The ready interchangeability and identification of figures in the Near Eastern, Greek and Roman pantheons (but not with Yahweh), testify to the relatively low level of their personalities, their lack of personal uniqueness and force of character.[1] The intrinsically impersonal and immanental nature of these divinities is evidenced by the essentially similar character of Aristotle's Prime Mover on the one hand as well as their historical relationship to Indian religion on the other.[2]

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[1] Albright, p. 201.

[2] Weber, 1923 (Das antike Judentum), p. 164.

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[1] Prior to Zeus there seems to have been an immanental and impersonal conception of the supernatural associated with agriculture and fertility; in the Hellenistic as in the classical period the same conception arises on a different level. See Gilbert Murray, 1912, pp. 25 ff., 66, 81-82, 90, 110, 116-117, 130.

[2] It is as yet unknown how by the time of Homer the ancient Greeks had disengaged themselves from a Weltanschauung dominated by magic and shaped one in which the universe was rational. (See Hamilton, 1948, pp. 161-162, and, for a sketch of the social context, Childe, 1948, ch. 10.) This outcome was quite different from that of the Hebrews. In both a loose confederation of kindred tribes successfully invaded an older and more highly developed society. But the Greeks carried with them a number of gods among whom religious convictions and allegiances were dispersed and weakened, thereby creating the potentiality for the development of a rational outlook relatively unhampered by effective belief in the supernatural. Among the Hebrews the unconditioned omnipotence of an inscrutable Yahweh placed a rational outlook of this type out of bounds although the coupling of this forceful nonempirical entity with easily comprehensible ethical decrees resulted in a unique emphasis upon ethical behavior as the way to salvation (Weber, 1923, pp. 234, 414-417) ordained by a god whose ultimate justice was defended in the face of manifest incongruities in the empirical realm. The union of these disparate outlooks, the profane Grecian and the sacred nonrational Hebraic, was forged in the long medieval period and gave rise to the scientific movement.

". . . the inexpugnable belief that every detailed occurrence can be correlated with its antecedents in a perfectly definite manner, exemplifying general principles . . . [came] . . . from the medieval insistence on the rationality of God, conceived as with the personal energy of Jehovah and with the rationality of a Greek philosopher. Every detail was supervised

(Continued on the following page)

There is a strong temptation to relate the differences in sentence structure and spirit of the apodictic and casuistic laws to the differences in the respective conceptions of the supernatural. It must be admitted at the outset that the argument for any such relationship is not causal but rather one of symbolic and psychological appropriateness. The sentence structure, content and communal derivation of both types of law have been mentioned above but we are concerned here with the impersonal immanence and personal transcendentalism implied by the casuistic and apodictic law. The former is characterized by a long, dry, quietly flowing sequence of interdependent clauses couched in the third person singular. No element of personal will may be detected; it is almost as if the consequences of violation follow inevitably and automatically without the intervention of human agency, just as the consequences which ensue from the operation of some physical law or from the operation of magical forces. This is of course merely the impression; punishment is carried out by official agents of an impersonal bureaucracy whose power does not derive from but transcends the local community. On the other

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[2] (Continued from the previous page) and ordered: the search into nature could only result in the vindication of the faith in rationality." (Whitehead, 1948, p. 13; italics added).

On the immanence of the Grecian divinities he notes that "The Greek gods who surrounded Aristotle were subordinate metaphysical entities, well within nature." (p. 173) hand the imposition of penalties for the infraction of the apodictic law implies a vigorous personal enforcement: stoning by the local populace. There would be no punishment but for the intervention of a human agency deeply motivated by outraged public sentiment; the reaction is direct, personal, forceful, by the whole community when the culprit is known, by Yahweh when he is not.[1] The element of will, of a conscious, overriding, personal will, the will of a Yahweh who is generically different from his worshippers, is as conspicuously present in the apodictic law as it is absent in the casuistic type.

The implication of these correlated differences between law types and conceptions of the nonempirical is bound up with the presence of magic throughout the Fertile Crescent and its unique absence in Israel. This formulation is not strictly accurate for in the earlier portions of the Old Testament there are traces of widely accepted magical practices as well as in Ezekial[2] and elsewhere. At the same time there are apodictic passages which categorically prohibit magic upon pain of death.[3] Clearly there are two opposed conceptions of the nonempirical fundamentally opposed to each other. The apodictic law with its antagonism to magic derives from an omnipotent Yahweh whom it would be not only preposterous but blasphemous to try to manipulate for human ends, empirical or otherwise; Yahweh, the Commander-in-Chief, gives orders and must be obeyed unconditionally.[1] It is this Yahweh who, at the head of the invading Israelites, comes into conflict with the indigenous gods of Canaan with their magical fertility functions and orgiastic rites.[2] Although traces of magical compulsion of God appear in purely Yahwistic circles, the major prophets and with them the central Hebraic tendency emphasized obedience to and unconditional trust in Yahweh; none of the writing prophets sought to help their country through magic.[3] They were the carriers of ethical knowledge potentially available to all and not the guardians of an esoteric magical lore.[4] Important as the conflict between Yahweh and the Baalim was on the cognitive level, the definitive success of the institutionalization of hostility to magic among the Israelites very probably turned upon the victory of the invading tribes and, consequently, of the priesthood attendant upon the non-agricultural Yahweh over the Canaanites. Defeat discredited not merely the local gods but, in the long run and with difficulty, the idea and practice of magic through which the priests had attempted to promote agricultural fertility.[1] This animosity to magic has been part of Judaism's legacy to Christianity which even at this late date has succeeded not in eliminating magic altogether but in stamping its remnants as unholy and diabolic.[2]

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[1] Alt, pp. 42-43, 47-49.

[2] 13:17-21, for example.

[3] Leviticus 20:27.

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[1] Weber notes the central tendency in Judaism which stresses man's absolute impotency vis-à-vis God, especially in the sense of the absolute exclusion of magical methods of compulsion over Him (including the rejection of astrological determinism as an insult to His majesty and freedom of decision), and the duty of child-like obedience to a world-ruling divinity. (1923, pp. 235, 239, 256, 413, 418.)

[2] It may be suggested in passing that the enduring Jewish hostility to alcoholism has its origin in this situation. The evidence cannot be presented here.

[3] Ibid., pp. 235-236.

[4] Ibid., p. 234. Adam and Eve discover good and evil, not an Aladdin's lamp.

It should be clear at this point that there is an underlying logic involved in the relationship between the worshippers of a being such as Yahweh and those who believe in entities of the type of the Baals and other Near Eastern and Oriental religions. Compulsion of a divine being by correct ritual manipulation is a characteristic of the latter while only appeal to a deity who retains his independent decision to act or not is possible in relation to Yahweh. On any level, cognitive, affective, or conative, it is impossible for a convinced follower of Yahweh to conceive of using Him to attain empirical or nonempirical ends in the way that is open to believers in the other conception of divinity. Ritual, magical or religious, is a logical derivation from the idea of impersonal orders of sacred forces within the universe while prayer implies "wilful" entities, transcendant or immanent, capable of influencing the universe. In Parsons' terms:

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[1] Weber, Gen. Econ. Hist., pp. 360-361.

[2] Ibid., pp. 360-363. It may be noted here that Weber is not always consistent in his use of the concept magic. In the strict sense of the term magic refers to the achievement only of empirical ends by nonempirical means; it is to this idea that he attaches importance in the process whereby magic was eliminated as an obstacle to the rationalization of industrial technology. But Weber in the following passage obviously refers to religious ritual:

"The rationalization of the world, the elimination of magic as a means to salvation, the Catholics had not carried nearly so far as the Puritans (and before them the Jews) had done. . . . The priest was a magician who performed the miracle of transubstantiation, and who held the key to eternal life in his hand." (The Protestant Ethic, p. 117.) As will be argued later the magical nature, in the strict sense, of transubstantiation must be accepted as deriving from the acceptance of the believer's definition of this situation.

> Ritual . . . involves orientation to the conception of an order, and the process of action is a technique in the sense that if the proper things are done, the consequences automatically ensue. Prayer, on the other hand, I would not treat as a ritual at all but as a different mode of orientation to the supernatural. The supernatural is not conceived as operating according to immanent law, but rather as personal will, the designs of which are subject to influence on the analogy of human will.[1]

Concretely of course, incomplete rationalization, the functional necessities arising from life's uncertainty, and the subconscious and conscious remembrances of childhood experience in relation to more powerful personalities, parental and other, permit the coexistence of both forms of intercourse with the supernatural.

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[1] Thorner, 1943, p. 164, note 28.

The relation between the belief in an omnipotent, transcendent personal deity and an aversion to magic is exemplified by the dominant trend in Judaism as revealed in the Old Testament. In later periods deviations from this paramount tendency are accompanied by departures in conception which either implicitly or explicitly deny the omnipotence and transcendance of God. The Hasidim (Chassidim) combined a belief in miracles, religious frenzy, emotional exaltation in prayer and ecstatic communion with the deity together with the view that man can influence the will and mood of God. The Cabalists (Kabbalists) on the other hand denied Him the attributes of intention, will, and action while resorting to charms, amulets, incantations and other forms of magic.[1] These characteristics suggest that there is an affinity between mysticism (a process of action whereby an actor attempts to unite with the nonempirical), a conception of the supernatural as immanent and impersonal, and magic. This triangular relationship is supported by the example of India as the classic home of all three. China, however, is clearly nonmystical in outlook although it is characterized by the prevalence of magic and the associated conception of the nonempirical.[1] This exception is more apparent than real if it is noted that magic is institutionalized in both societies among the great masses of people whose major orientation is toward the pursuit of secular interests and activities. In this respect the Chinese literati with their policy of "prudent conservatism" are thoroughgoing secularists, and accordingly free of mysticism. On the other hand, the Hindu religious virtuosi have radically devalued secular ends and with it any interest in magic in favor of salvation interpreted as union with the nonempirical (mysticism).[2]

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[1] "Cabala," "Hasidism," Jewish Encyclopedia.

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[1] See Granet, 1934, especially the summary by Henri Berr.

[2] See Evelyn Underhill on the impersonal and immanental tendencies of mysticism (1930, pp. 120, 170-173). Aldous Huxley has this to say:

> "Reinterpreting the Pentateuch in terms of a metaphysical system derived from Platonism, Neo-Pythagoreanism and Stoicism, Philo transformed the wholly transcendental and almost anthropomorphically personal God of the Old Testament into the immanent-transcendent Absolute Mind of the Perennial Philosophy." (1945, p. 15)

See also Huxley's Grey Eminence for the hindrance of the conception of a personal deity to the achievement by Christian mystics of the highest stage in mystic experience. It is significant that even within Jewish mysticism, including Cabalism and Hasidism, the transcendent and personal conception of Yahweh remains powerful enough to distinguish the "rapture" or "drawing near to God" of the Jewish mystic from the Christian's "mystic union" with God. See Joseph Klausner, 1943, pp. 196, 492-493; italics supplied.

Max Weber's view is apropos: The conception of a supramundane God and Creator

> ". . . has not been so important [as it has been for religious ethics] for the contemplative and mystical quest, which has an internal affinity with the depersonalization and immanence of the divine power." (1946, pp. 324-325)

A closer inspection of the "major trends in Jewish mysticism"[1] may throw light upon both the nature of mysticism and its relation to magic by way of deviations from the traditional conception of Yahweh. Hence, a foundation would be established for the hypothesis that the existence of magic in Christian societies is in some way correlated with Christian conceptions of the nature of God.

Early in his discussion Scholem makes the suggestive remark that the impersonal type of description of their experience by Jewish mystics might be due in part to the incongruity of such experience with the idea of God as Creator, King and Law-giver.[2] The opposition of authoritative Jewish theology to pantheism and mystical theology[3] is understood when it is seen that mystic experience has been associated with magical formulas and ecstatic conditions,[4] phenomena ill-suited apparently to the traditional conception of Yahweh as omnipotent and transcendent. Thus in the Cabalistic movement the treatment of the sacred law (Halakhah) as a sacrament and a secret rite capable of affecting the universe has at times led to magic.[1] The belief in the transcendent nature of Yahweh, the gulf between Creator and created, affected the earliest stage of Jewish mysticism which started in the period of the Second Temple and extended to the tenth century; there is no trace of union with God, only a perception of His appearance on a throne, hence the name, throne-mysticism.[2] At this stage God is Holy King with no idea of His immanence such as is present among Hellenistic mystics.[3] But if there is no suggestion of immanence in this type of Jewish mysticism which is yet characterized by the practice of magic then the hypothesis of the relation between immanence and magic falls to the ground. The relationship is, however, somewhat complex. In throne-mysticism the emphasis is on God's power and this led to a theurgic conception: the exercise of nonempirical power by the adept. Apparently there is a splitting off of God's power as an impersonal attribute from God conceived as a personality.[4] On this view there is no difficulty in understanding how it came about that magic was a prominent feature of throne (Merkabah)-mysticism.[1] In medieval German Hasidism two contradictory concepts existed side by side: the transcendent as well as the immanent nature of God.[2] It followed quite logically that despite the explicit rejection by leading figures in Hasidism, and Cabalism, it nevertheless was prominent in these movements.[3]

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[1] Scholem, 1941. The ensuing discussion will be confined to this work of an outstanding scholar in this field.

[2] P. 16.

[3] P. 37.

[4] Pp. 49-50.

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[1] Pp. 30, 49-50, 76.

[2] So long as the traditional conception of Yahweh is firmly entrenched his followers cannot interpret their deepest religious experience as a direct contact with God; and it is this which is the characteristic feature of mystical experience. In other words, the essentially similar psychophysical state is described to oneself and others in terms of the accepted religious tradition. See pp. 5, 9-11, 120-121.

[3] Pp. 39-45, 54-55. Compare Gilbert Murray, 1912.

[4] The importance of this for Roman Catholicism will become apparent below.

> 'Practical Kabbalism' . . . simply means magic, though practised by means which do not come under a religious ban (this consecrated form of magic . . . calls out the tremendous powers of the Names [of God]), as distinct from black magic, which uses demonic powers and probes into sinister regions.[4]

It is an easy step from the use of formulas to aid the achievement of the mystic experience to the use of them for control of the world external to the ego in behalf of empirical ends.[5] The transition is exemplified in the type of

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[1] Pp. 55, 101.

[2] Pp. 107-109.

[3] Pp. 98, 141-143.

[4] P. 141. (Compare Weber, 1925, p. 241) It is significant for the relation between the concept of divine immanence and magic that the individual to whom the quotation refers drew elements of his doctrine from the Indian tradition of Yoga as well as other sources associated with magic (pp. 141-142).

[5] See pp. 142-143 and 150.

Hasidism established in the Slavic countries in the 18th century. In this movement there was a close connection between magic and mysticism; the founder (Israel Baal Shem, died 1760) was a genuine mystic _and_ a magician.

> Unbroken confidence in the power of the Holy Names bridges the gap in his consciousness between the magician's claims to work miracles with his amulet, or through other magical practices, and the mystical enthusiasm which seeks no object but God.[1]

These two tendencies appear together throughout Jewish mysticism.[2]

However clear the analytic distinction between prayer and ritual (magical or religious) in living reality they tend to fuse.

> Luria's doctrine of mystical prayer stands directly on the border between mysticism and magic, where the one only too easily passes into the other. Every prayer which is more than mere acknowledgment of God's Kingdom, indeed every prayer which in a more or less clearly defined sense is bound up with the hope of its being granted, involves the eternal paradox of man's hope to influence the inscrutable ways and eternal decisions of Providence. This paradox . . . leads inevitably to the question of the magical nature of prayer. The facile distinction between magic and so-called true mysticism, which we find in the writings of some modern scholars . . . with their

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[1] Pp. 321, 343-344. Scholem writes that in the fifty years after its founder's death, Hasidism was characterized by the idea of God's immanence (p. 331). So far had this idea penetrated that the Hasidim considered the traditional Jewish conception of the absolute transcendence of God, of an abyss between God and creation, to be false (p. 343).

[2] _Idem_.

> abstract definition of the term mysticism, is quite irrelevant to the history and lives of many mystical thinkers. Granted that magic and mysticism belong to fundamentally different categories, that does not disprove the fact that they are capable of meeting, developing, and interacting in the same mind. History shows that particularly those schools of mysticism which are not purely pantheistic and show no tendency to blur the distinction between God and nature, represent a blend of the mystical and the magical consciousness. That is true of many forms of Indian, Greek, Catholic and also of Jewish mysticism. . . .
>
> That the doctrine of Kawwanah [mystic intention] in prayer was capable of being interpreted as a certain kind of magic seems clear to me; that it involves the problem of magical practices is beyond any doubt. . . . None of these men [masters of mystical prayer in 20th century Jerusalem] would deny that the inner Kawwanah of prayer is easily capable of being externalized as magic, . . .[1]

The present writer would only add to this last sentence that the external aspect is not of itself decisive for magic if the external is interpreted as outside the actor's body, for the latter is also an empirical object which the correct manipulation of nonempirical forces by appropriate oral or other action may control.

The discussion of Jewish mysticism would be incomplete, anomalous indeed, if no mention were made of another element in the conception of the supernatural which is in close relation to magic: the impersonal nature of the nonempirical. But this element is by no means absent.

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[1] (Isaac Luria was an important figure (died 1572) in the history of Jewish Cabalism.) See pp. 273-274.

> It is clear that with this postulate of an impersonal basic reality in God, which becomes a person--or appears as a person--only in the process of Creation and Revelation, Kabbalism abandons the personalistic basis of the Biblical conception of God.[1]

Further, in discussing the mystical symbolism of the Zohar (the single most important work in Cabalist literature, written in Castile in the last quarter of the 13th century.) Scholem points out that

> . . . one must remember that in general the mystics, in speaking of God's immanence in His Creation, are inclined to depersonalize Him: The immanent God only too easily becomes an impersonal Godhead. In fact, this tendency has always been one of the main pitfalls of Pantheism. All the more remarkable is the fact that the Kabbalists and even those among them who are inclined to Pantheism managed to avoid it, for as we have seen the Zohar identifies the highest development of God's Personality with precisely that stage of His unfolding which is nearest to human experience, indeed *which is immanent and mysteriously present in everyone of us*.[2]

Before entering into an examination of the topic introduced by this italicized clause there remains one important trait which, however odd, seems to be frequently associated with impersonality in conceptions of the supernatural. The completely masculine nature of the personal, transcendent Yahweh of traditional Judaism is compromised by the addition of a feminine component when the God of the mystics takes on impersonality and immanency. The Shekhinah or glory of God is conceived of as feminine, a view utterly opposed by philosophical and Talmudic Judaism yet widely accepted among the European and Eastern Jewish communities. It is a conception which originally belonged to pagan mythology[1] where the association of fertility, feminity, and sexuality is easily discerned, as well as in the ritual oriented toward agricultural and human fruitfulness. The psychological connotations of femininity as bound up with procreation as well as affectional response[2] seem to have been pervasive enough to endow an impersonal nonempirical deity with this attribute of personality.

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[1] P. 12. Given this postulate the separation of the impersonal power attribute from an anthropomorphically conceived divinity is a logical possibility.

[2] P. 213; italics added; compare Huxley, 1945.

II. JESUS AND THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

The last quotation in the text above shows the tendency of an immanental conception of the supernatural to broaden until the human actor is endowed with an element of divinity.

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[1] Pp. 225-226, 36.

[2] In the symbolism of the Kabbalah the latter is not the case since ". . . woman represents not, as one might be tempted to expect, the quality of tenderness, but that of stern judgment." as well as the demonic (pp. 36-37). What this might reflect of the nature of parent-child relations at that time could be an interesting subject of research.

It will be recalled that in traditional Judaism, early and late, there is an unbridgeable gulf between God and man; the two are qualitatively different. Man is made in the image of God; He is completely transcendental. While this is the basic position of Judaism from which there have been minor variations,[1] Christianity wrestled with a dilemma owing to the fundamental importance of its central figure. Was Jesus human, divine, or both? If divine, His ethic and conduct could not be expected of humanity; if human His elevation to divinity and worship would be idolatry--so long as the Old Testament was interpreted as validating His claims. Thou shalt have none other gods before me. The dominant solution has been to hold that Jesus was both human and divine: God became man in Jesus. Although there have been rejections of one position and affirmations of the other Christianity has remained essentially dualistic in this respect.[2] The significance of this doctrine is far-reaching; it leads directly or indirectly to the concept of immanence of the divine in the empirical world. If God becomes man and man is part of the world of nature then God-in-man is an element of the Creator in the created.[1] Further, this dualism of natural and supernatural gives rise to the problem of their relationship and utility for each other. Of the possible solutions there is only one with which this study is concerned: the subordination of the nonempirical to man's purposes. The logic of the dualism of God and nature is such that this solution is always latent while the psychological pressures of finite man in action press toward its actualization, provided the religious doctrine supplies the postulates which permit it as one of the logically possible solutions. The historical evidence in the preceding sections argues, if it does not prove, that the doctrine of immanence paves the way for, while its polar opposite discourages, the subordination of the divine to man's empirical and nonempirical ends. The problem which Christian Science presents to the sociologist is the process whereby magic and its presuppositions arise within Christianity. The fundamental importance of the dualistic conception of Jesus for this process is due to the fact that it is precisely this idea which is the root of the development leading to the appearance of magic as the substance of the doctrine and practice of a Christian sect.

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[1] The medieval Jewish philosophers who affirmed the transcendence and immanence of God did so at the expense of logical consistency (S. W. Baron, 1937, 1:20.). Since the first attribute is by far the older it seems reasonable to regard the second as an import from non-Hebraic sources.

[2] Ebionism denies Jesus' divinity, Docetism His humanity. The former instance is instructive in that this early Christian sect adhered closely to the Mosaic law, including circumcision, and regarded Jesus as a miracle-working prophet and St. Paul as an apostate. The inference is that so long as the fundamental Hebraic conceptions were predominant God remained wholly other than humanity and any denial of this constituted apostacy. Compare Weber:

"The Christian Trinity, with its incarnate Savior and the saints, represented a conception of God which fundamentally was less supra-mundane than was the God of Jewry, especially of later Jewry, or the Allah of Islamism." (1946, p. 325)

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[1] Luther was eminently correct when he said that the union of God and human nature (the fusion of qualitatively different entities) is the mystery of the Revelation through Christ. See Emil Brunner, 1947, p. 403, note 1.

While it is accurate to hold that "From a substantive point of view, every charismatic authority would have to subscribe to the proposition, 'It is written . . . , but I say unto you. . . . '"[1] and to illustrate this proposition with Jesus' opposition to the Scribes and Pharisees,[2] this particular illustration blurs a distinction between types of prophets which is of fundamental significance. Weber classifies them as those whose followers' dependency is primarily upon the prophet's person (Zarathustra, Mohammed, Jesus) or upon the promulgated doctrine as such (Buddha, the prophets of Israel).[3] Although this classification is useful in so far as it separates Jesus from the prophets of Israel it is inadequate for present purposes because it does so on the basis of their followers and not according to their relation to the supernatural. On this latter basis Jesus is in a class by himself for he alone claimed divine attributes for himself.[1] Weber emphasized that Jesus based his own legitimation and claim to sole knowledge of the Father, as well as the belief in himself as the way to God, on the magical charisma which Jesus felt (spürte) within himself, and, further, that this consciousness of power [Machtbewusstsein], which was far greater than among others who had also experienced it, allowed Jesus to enter upon his career.[2]

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[1] Weber, 1947, p. 361.

[2] Idem, note 40.

[3] 1925, Pt. 1, p. 250. Mrs. Eddy, despite personal inclinations toward the former, would have to be classified in the latter category were it not for other criteria that Weber describes. It is undeniable that she laid claim to authority partly on the basis of a divine revelation; yet her ethic was traditional (as was that of Jesus; cf. Albright, pp. 302-303, and Troeltsch, 1:53) although her materia medica was not. Essentially she announced a revelation whose content is the control of nonempirical forces for empirical ends, that is, magic. Her teaching is an affirmation of this concept; her and its authority are validated by the claim to pragmatic results. Mrs. Eddy is further differentiated from the genuine prophet in that she systematically demanded compensation for knowledge of magical doctrine and technique--if only from prospective professional healers and teachers.

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[1] In this respect Jesus, Father Divine and sundry inmates of mental hospitals are alike. Sociologically, the difference between the former two is quantitative (the number of followers), not qualitative.

[2] Weber, 1925, p. 251. It is suggested that this consciousness of power although apparently quite variable in intensity is a not infrequent phenomenon and derives from the release obtained through the conviction that a given idea or complex of ideas has solved the tension-producing problems constituting the broken-pattern situation. Jesus' own profound conviction of the truth of his beliefs remained unshaken apparently up to a few moments short of death. Whether a given idea-pattern and its advocate are considered "sane" or "normal" at any given time depends upon the number of believers. If an individual's ideas remain subjective, a private world rejected by contemporaries, he may be adjudged queer, idiosyncratic, possibly insane, or perhaps the future will consider him ahead of his time; if his ideas meet the needs of others and thereby become a means of public communication, he and they become part of the normal world. The range is extremely wide, from the handful of relatives or attendants who pretend to accept the claims of an admittedly unbalanced person as valid and proceed to manage him

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The passages to which this statement refers (Matthew 11:27-30) are, however, precisely those which differentiate Jesus from the Hebrew prophets, for none of them, not even Moses,[1] dared use the first person singular, much less make such claims.[2] For the prophets the introductory phrase is "Thus sayeth the Lord"; Jesus' didactic form of expression, "It was said . . . But I say . . ." is an assumption of divinity.[3] This signified the most radically possible break with what has been and remains fundamental to Judaism. In the Old Testament there is never any doubt that it is Yahweh and Yahweh alone who exercises authority whenever He chooses to employ a human instrument.

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[2] (Continued from the previous page) thereby to the millions of believers of the founders of world-wide religions. (For a story on "Norton I, Emperor of the United States of America" see Collier's, January 8, 1949, p. 6.)

[1] His use of I is obviously meant as a reference to Yahweh who actually used this pronoun. See Deut. 27.

[2] The importance of the point takes precedence over the risks of redundancy. The understanding observer, sociologist or other, realizes at one and the same time the authority claimed by charismatic personalities, the acceptance of it by their followers and its rejection by those who do not. The understanding is based upon a comprehension of the relation of idea, regardless of content, to personality tensions, whether of leaders or followers. Each potential leader constructs a private variant of currently accepted patterns which he presents for acceptance to others. Communication (and society) is possible only on the basis of a commonly accepted set of symbols. The schizophrene is identified in large part precisely by the private character of his symbolism.

[3] As Emil Brunner clearly recognizes. See pp. 538, 552, 555-6.

On the single occasion that His command was not literally obeyed, when he struck instead of addressing the rock for water, not even Moses could escape punishment. When he or any other Hebrew prophet engaged in magic it was done by and through the will of Yahweh in behalf of Yahweh's purposes.[1] Jesus, on the other hand, performed genuine feats of magic; He employed nonempirical means for the automatic achievement of His empirical ends.[2]

The significance of Matthew 7:28-29 cannot be overestimated.[3] The authority of the scribes was not their own but that of the Lord Yahweh whose commands in the Law and the prophets they expounded. None dared, as did Jesus, to hold himself out as the only channel to God. For Jesus to teach "as one having authority" and therefore as possessing divinity was so completely beyond accepted and unquestioned belief that not only astonishment but rejection was inevitable.[1] When Troeltsch in his analysis of Jesus' message notes that in it

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[1] In strict accuracy and accepting the Old Testament definition of the situations the actions cannot be subsumed under the definitions of magical or religious ritual adopted here since the actor is a nonempirical entity who has made use of a human instrument (Exodus 3 and 4). It is only by disregarding this aspect and focusing attention upon the latter and his empirical accomplishments that he can be said to perform magic. This is unavoidable in a sociological analysis which as a methodological necessity must concern itself only with empirical entities and relationships.

[2] The preceding note applies here also, except that divinity is incorporated in the human agent.

[3] "And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine: For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes."

> The Hebrew God of Will, in His aloofness from mankind, only makes Himself known in living relation in the Law and in the Prophets, and *in the authority with which Jesus interprets both*.

and that

> . . . the virtues of complete sincerity and integrity alone make it possible for the soul *to attain union with the All-Knowing and All-Holy*. . . .[2]

he does so without, at least at this point, finding it necessary ". . . to discuss the question of the element of novelty in His teaching contrasted with His Jewish environment."[3] It is clear that the novel element was indeed revolutionary for it not only claimed divinity but implied the immanence of a God who had hitherto been uncompromisingly transcendent. It is with these conceptions that the seed was sown for the subsequent reappearance of magic in the religion founded on this message and its teacher.[4] While the traditional Christian

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[1] For a pointed and partisan presentation of the differences constituting the essential opposition between Jesus and his fellow Jews see Weiss-Rosmarin, 1943. Nor can this difference between Jesus and the Hebrew prophets be attributed to a difference in intensity of religious experience (Hamilton, 1936, p. 191).

[2] 1:58, 53; italics supplied.

[3] 1:52.

[4] It may or may not be true, as Edith Hamilton believes on the basis of data arbitrarily selected from the Gospels,

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doctrine is that God in the human person of Jesus performed His miracles, this same doctrine's conception of the dual nature of Jesus always presented the possible interpretation that the human element made use of the divine for the former's empirical ends. If, at any historical point, any movement retained the belief in the existence of the divine and held that Jesus was entirely human and used the supernatural forces to accomplish his ends, then the ground was prepared for the rise of magic. Furthermore, when the conception of the supernatural is impersonal and immanental then all logical barriers are down and the re-entrance of magic into the Hebraic-Christian tradition is unavoidable. With Jesus' use of the first person singular as an expression of His own authority a fundamental break with the Hebrew orientation to the supernatural had occurred.

III. CATHOLIC AND ASCETIC PROTESTANT CONCEPTIONS

Despite the underlying discrepancies in attitudes toward the supernatural it was not possible for early Christianity to

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[4] (Continued from the previous page) that Jesus rejected magic in the parable of Dives and Lazarus and was in this respect in direct line with the great Hebrew prophets. It may or may not be true that He towered above magic and its works, and that the New Testament miracle tales to the contrary were later interpolations. *The sociological consequences of the New Testament as it has come down to us, true and false alike, remain* (Hamilton, 1948, pp. 54 ff., 63-65).

disown its Hebraic affiliations because the Old Testament was indispensable as the guarantee of Jesus' legitimacy; the synoptic gospels had provided details of His career which dovetailed with sundry passages interpreted as prophetic of Jesus' coming and mission; and the audiences which provided the likeliest prospects for conversion were among those who had been attracted to Judaism but could not subject themselves to all the requirements of the Mosaic code. The dilemma confronting the early Church due to the incompatibility of conceptions of the supernatural was met in a most ingenious manner. The omnipotent and transcendent Lord of the Old Testament had, it was believed, specifically and finally designated the Church, a mundane organization, as the monopolist of His inexhaustible treasury of grace, an impersonal divine force. The priest by reason of his office can draw upon this "appropriated advantage" through the proper ritual and assure the members of his flock of eternal life or death; the priest dispensed salvation and damnation. But God had reserved to Himself the power to grant or deny petitions for empirical as well as nonempirical benefits. The believer could pray to the personal transcendental deity for a thousand and one reasons; he could always avail himself of the impersonal-sacred-forces-wielding sacraments for the most important of all ends: salvation.

This dichotomy between the personal-transcendental and impersonal-immanental characteristics of the divine enabled the

Church to maintain its transcendental position and condemn as heretical tendencies in the other direction. It was commonly argued against this type of heresy that it invalidated the doctrine of creation, that it implied that evil was a part of God, that the identification of the created with the Creator was an affront to the latter's majesty, and, very importantly and correctly, that prayer could not be addressed in any meaningful sense to an impersonal entity. But whatever the validity of these arguments the fact that they had to be made testifies to the viability of the heresy against which they were directed. Nor should this be an occasion for surprise considering the dilemma which is at the root of traditional Christianity. This problem is permanent for the Roman Catholic Church because the source of its power over the faithful lies in the impersonal-immanental horn of the dilemma. Not only is the divine power capable of assuring salvation, a nonempirical condition, in the Hereafter by way of the correct performance of the sacraments but through its manipulation the priest in performing the Mass transubstantiates the unleavened wafer, an empirical object, into the very body of Jesus Christ who thus comes into mystic union with the worshipper. On the orthodox conception of this sacrament the priest must be considered as performing a magical act. It is in this sense that Weber is correct in his judgment that Catholicism failed to eliminate magic as thoroughly as

Judaism had--despite a reservation about the propriety of using this term for salvation by ritual means.

It has not been possible to restrict magic to this sacrament nor even desirable in the interest of disciplining the masses of believers, and as a result there has always been a proliferation of sacred relics, medals, scapulars, etc. which are in fact widely employed magically despite technical reservations of the Church.[1] It has been characteristic of Catholicism that it has found it expedient to retain pagan divinities and practices, reinterpreting them in terms of the one true faith where they could not be eliminated. The multiplicity of Catholic saints and tacit acceptance of magic have combined to make syncretism a conspicuous feature of missionary Catholicism. Ascetic Protestant syncretism has been rendered extremely difficult by its lack of subsidiary sacred entities, greater emphasis upon the transcendental nature of God and the antagonism to magic associated with this concept. Polish peasant culture, for example, which has been thoroughly permeated for centuries by Catholicism has managed to retain much of its pre-Christian magical beliefs, attitudes, and practices.[1] The African Negro brought to the western hemisphere has retained more of his native religion and magic in the mainly Catholic culture areas than in those dominated by Protestantism.[2]

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[1] The financial aspects are not insignificant. Indignant Protestants and embarrassed educated Catholics tend to ignore the highly important "support function" of magic for its practitioners as well as its strategic utility in cementing the authority of the Church. Although the latter is far more dependent upon the Church's control of the sacramental means to salvation, the advantages derived from its more or less tacit connection with magic cannot be overlooked. Compare Pfister, 1948.

It may be well at this point to inquire whether industrialization and urbanism have not been more important than religious factors in the elimination of magic. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that a highly industrialized way of life may gradually weaken and finally destroy the magical attitudes and thought system as people learn the empirical relations involved in the operation of the machines they make and use. But this is not the problem. How rather does it come about that the idea-system of magic is first broken through so that industrialization may then develop as an indigenous phenomenon? Nor is urbanization a solution. Prior to and outside the modern Western influence the world everywhere, with very few exceptions, has been and remains "magic ridden," as, for example, in Near Eastern and Oriental cities where the masses are little if any less steeped in magic than the rural population. In contrast to the pragmatism of Catholicism the Protestant Reformation soon exhibited a very different attitude. Its leaders

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[1] Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918, 1:205-288. For an instance of the viability of magic in a South American Catholic community see Tuman, 1949, p. 17.

This type of syncretism is distinct from the emergence or revival of belief in magic and astrology in a period such as the Italian Renaissance when faith in traditional Catholicism had weakened. The political violence and uncertainty were such as to render life chaotic and induce belief in anything that promised certainty. It is significant that the socially mobile condottieri who pursued a dangerous career were usually believers in astrology. As faith in one "support system" waned the vogue of other psychological props gained, then as now.

[2] Herskovits, 1948; table on p. 615. For instances of syncretism of West African gods with Catholic saints see pp. 552-556.

> . . . could not with any consistency admit that the Almighty had selected as the peculiar channels of His grace, and had glorified by countless miracles, devotions which they had stigmatised as blasphemous, idolatrous, and superstitious. We find, accordingly, that from the very beginning, Protestantism looked upon modern miracles (except those which were comprised under the head of witchcraft) with an aversion and distrust that contrasts remarkably with the unhesitating credulity of its opponents.[1]

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[1] Lecky, 1903, 1:163-164. The exception of witchcraft from Protestant scepticism of magic rests upon two grounds, cognitive and affective. The Old Testament which played an unusually large part in Puritan thought specifically recognized witchcraft and demanded the death penalty for its practice. Simultaneously, the methodical discipline over the whole way of life demanded by its ideology created strong tensions and temptations to rebel against stringent emotional controls, urges which were easily rationalized as the work of the devil. The witches were prime targets against whom rebellious impulses could be directed. The fact that the target was usually a woman suggests that the mother-child relation in Protestant family life did not adequately meet the child's affectional needs, especially among Calvinists. (See Lecky 1:143 and note 2) The male counterpart of the witch, the sorcerer, seems not to have been so prominent.

If, however, "from the very beginning" Protestantism showed "aversion and distrust," then this hostility to magic and allied phenomena may have had doctrinal as well as psychological bases.[1] The tenets of Calvinism referred to in the second chapter included, it will be recalled, essentially these elements: (1) a single, absolutely transcendental God who had created and governs the world; (2) Who had arbitrarily and permanently fixed the religious destination (salvation or damnation) of each and every human soul; (3) simultaneously demanding that everyone shall, subject to His revealed law, labor to establish the Kingdom of God on Earth; (4) which latter and man He had created to increase His glory; although (5), except by divine grace, the things of this world, including human nature and the flesh are lost in "sin and death," completely corrupt.

From these interrelated propositions there ensue a number of consequences. There is an immense heightening of the gulf between an omnipotent transcendental deity who is qualitatively different from and, aside from revelation, incomprehensible to His creatures. This "otherness" of the divine renders impossible the sanctity of the objects and actions of the created world, including man and his traditional forms of organization, which are thereby radically devalued. Not only is union with the nonempirical (mysticism) put out of bounds but any attempt on the part of the creature, God's instrument, to influence His immutable decrees in regard to man's empirical and nonempirical ends is blasphemous as well as impossible by definition; man can only yield to His will and obey His divine commands. Magical and religious ritual, except for the revealed sacraments, and prayer also are undercut, left without any rationale.[1] Furthermore, the inexorable divine will which had fixed the processes and order of nature allowed of no interference with them; man could achieve his empirical ends which, be it noted, were directed to the creation of the Kingdom of God on Earth only by means of nature's law. Hence, nature and the way it operated, God's handiwork, had to be studied.[1] The believing Protestant was therefore not only strongly motivated to discover the method of nature's operation in order to implement a divine command but also to reject vehemently as superstition and an affront to divine majesty the attempt to control nature for his mundane purposes through nonempirical means, magic. Hence, it is in part due to the implications of the fundamental Protestant dogmatic conceptions that the Protestant aversion and distrust in regard to magic must be traced in addition to what Lecky seems to argue in the passage quoted above, that the revolt against Catholicism included with it hostility to miracles attesting divine approval of the rejected faith. For if the latter had been the main consideration there would have been no deterrent to the creation by devout Protestants of miracles validating their faith. But instead Protestantism devalued both types of application of the nonempirical. There was a return to and an accentuation of the Old Testament conception of Yahweh; not only was His transcendentalism underscored but the doctrine of predestination manifested His omnipotent will to the ultimate degree. He demanded of His followers that they bend all their energies, yoke all their impulsive and affective tendencies in life-long mundane service to His will, a will which had rejected witchcraft and sacrifices, religious ritual and magic, black or white.[1]

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[1] This last will not be discussed here except to note that if the conditions of Protestant family life were conducive to the notion of hostile intrusions of the supernatural against the individual, by the same token marks of divine favoritism were all the more unlikely.

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[1] Not that prayer was actually done away with; the exigencies of life do not permit this. One could only hope and pray that the predestined consequences would be such as the worshipper implored. A favorite Puritan author, for example, in a section entitled "Learn the skill to plead with God in Prayer" remarks that prayer is not to change His purpose "but to bring forth his purposes into performance." This is designed to conform to the doctrine of predestination. God's promise requires prayer. "Such praying fetches out those mercies which were in the heart of God, and puts them into our hand." (Alleine, 1664, pp. 227-228).

The kinship between this Puritan conception of prayer and that of Christian Science will become apparent below.

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[1] It is a testimony to the fundamental importance of divine transcendentalism that a contemporary Protestant theologian has found it necessary to argue that the study of nature does not lead to a knowledge of the personal living God who is above and absolutely separate from the world, but only to knowledge of the Demiurge, a kind of impersonal sacred force which, by contrast, may be presumed to be immanent in the world. (Brunner, pp. 268-269 and p. 269, note 1.)

But the return to the Old Testament was not complete. As followers of Jesus the Protestants could not wholly eliminate the divine immanence without giving up His humanity. However, as this was impossible the humanity of Jesus was in fact rendered unique by the wholly unHebraic traditional Christian doctrine of the corruption of the flesh. The traditionalism of ritual which had grown up on the basis of the Law and pervaded the whole of orthodox Jewish life was broken through by the new dispensation; and this antitraditionalism was applied later to the society in which Protestantism found itself. The final outcome of the specifically ascetic Protestant integration of elements of Christian beliefs was the interesting combination of depreciation, inhibition and control of the impulse life as an aspect of fleshly corruption and the wholehearted antitraditionalistic competition for the good things of life (desired by the "flesh") as proof of divine election. But the competitive struggle for the fruits (proof) of salvation was held within bounds by the divine command which had specified emotional discipline and honesty in human relations and prohibited magical ritual. The desanctification of traditional behavior patterns, including occupational roles, organization and technology, as barriers to the transformation of the corrupt world into the Kingdom of God on Earth prepared the way for radical transformation of the social structure. As an obedient instrument of the Lord bent upon fulfilling His will the ascetic Protestant in the pursuit of his secular calling was liberated from the burden of anxiety and guilt (the psychological sanctions beneath ritualized patterns of action) that departures from the accustomed ways of doing things would incur the wrath of supernatural entities who had ordained or approved the ways of the forefathers. The doctrine of the corruption of this world rendered the believer sceptical about the status quo (a scepticism that very often fused with his self-interest) and predisposed him to regard it as suspect. Further, and more important for the relation of the Protestant to magic, the omnipotence of God in the doctrine of predestination together with that of the corruption of the world undermined and finally eroded the magical attitudes and thought system. After all, it was impossible to control God by any means, ritual (religious or magical) or otherwise for any purpose, empirical or nonempirical. On the other hand, the Protestant was encouraged to study the processes of nature as God's handiwork and put them to use in the creation of the Kingdom of God on Earth.

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[1] "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." (Deut. 6:5) If they did so, then it would be well with them promised the Lord. The devout had therefore little difficulty in inverting the relation between worldly success and salvation and interpreting the former as fruit of the latter.

The command is a contradiction of terms. If love is freely offered no command is necessary; if it is there can be none. If the commandment is taken seriously and there is doubt about the adequacy of conformance then the resultant anxiety may provide the motive for intense activity of the kind defined as proof of love. The definition has varied for the Jew, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the varieties of ascetic Protestant, including the Christian Scientist.

Compare, for example, Amos, Job, and Jeremiah, Deuteronomy notwithstanding, as validation for the Lord's rejection of sacrifices, etc.

Interdependent with the slow working out in thought and action of the logical implications of Protestant dogma there developed within family life affected by Protestantism a personality type grounded upon and shaped by a distinctive matrix of experience. This typical matrix had created a basic personality type which was outstandingly dynamic in outlook and action. But more than this had occurred. The child had learned that the parental will was not to be flattered or cajoled into particularistic exceptions to its decree nor could it be coerced by any linguistic means at the child's disposal. The "magic of the word" was useless. The only sure way to the parents' affection and tangible evidence of approval was after overt achievement according to fixed and clearly understood criteria; immediate gratification was not typical, disciplined postponement was.[1] In theological terms, salvation and the fruits thereof were not to be had through religious and magical coercion of the supernatural;[2] they had to be earned by conformance to fixed and immutable divine law, and demonstrated in the concrete furtherance of the Kingdom of God on Earth here and now through ethically and emotionally disciplined work. "Miracles" (unexpected and unearned rewards) did not occur; they did not "ring true."

The parallel between early family experience and theological concepts goes further. It is a commonplace of child psychology that rigid parental discipline is not accepted unhesitatingly and wholeheartedly; subconsciously or consciously, latently or overtly, aggressive impulses against parental authority and its procedures are created. If adequate affectional response and socially acceptable channels for aggression are not available, a hidden reservoir of antagonism is built up which may be mobilized easily given the appropriate conditions. That the Puritan child's affectional needs were not adequately met seems to be clear from the evidence. On the other hand he had learned that parental authority would accede to his wishes if they were earned in clearly specified fashion according to standards binding upon the parents.[1] This background of experience could be drawn upon in adult life when the latent hostility built up in childhood could be legitimately and satisfyingly directed against the status quo as symbolic of earlier authority, in compliance with the divinely authorized decrees to reshape the corrupt (and frustrating) world closer to that Kingdom of God which would be nearer to the heart's desires. In this way antitraditionalism in ascetic Protestantism was solidly established upon an emotionally familiar and rewarding sequence of experience. Furthermore, this same sequence had simultaneously excluded "miracles" and "magic" as beyond the bounds of normal experience and demonstrated that the successful method was the discovery of fixed principles and standards in the external world which could be manipulated for emotionally desired rewards. As the wholly unexpected and unanticipated by-product in large part of Protestant doctrines there had developed an extraordinarily self-reliant and dynamic personality which was at one and the same time predisposed against tradition and magic, in favor of the scientific method, and capable of sustaining the strains of suspended judgment and postponed satisfactions which this method entailed.[1] In short, there is a clear parallel and interdependence between the ascetic Protestant type of rearing and its projective system of religious doctrine as well as its adaptive mechanism in the form of the scientific method.[2]

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[1] Compare the cited letters of Mrs. Pfeiffer, and John Wesley's mother. in Appendix B.

[2] This attitude was at variance with that which, according to Piaget, is characteristic of children for whom ". . . , thought itself, instead of consisting in an internal activity, is conceived as a sort of material power in direct communication with the external universe." (p. 185)

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[1] A government of law (God), not of men.

IV. CHANGES IN ASCETIC PROTESTANT CONCEPTIONS OF GOD

It will be the contention of this section that two elements in the basic personality and ideal of ascetic

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[1] The contrast to orthodox Judaism's traditionalism is marked. The submission to an omnipotent Yahweh is most clearly illustrated by those extremely pious anti-Zionist Jews who oppose the newly created Israel because it is not God's own direct handiwork.

[2] The whole import of the present study is a denial of the viewpoint which makes religion a dependent function of the method of child care. For a relatively moderate psychoanalytic attempt on the part of a Protestant pastor and analyst to relate changes in the religious projective systems, primarily conceptions of the nature of God, to changes in the personal and larger social patterns of anxiety in the experience of important religious leaders and their followers, see Pfister, 1948. His procedure in the analysis of individuals and faiths is to portray the underlying anxiety-tensions, explain the releasing or accentuating reactions, especially in regard to affectional response, and relate the beliefs and actions (magical and religious) to both these tendencies. The influence of Luther's and Calvin's family life, especially the kind of paternal authority which shaped their personalities, upon the conceptions of God which they developed as adults is unmistakable. Pfister however, devotes relatively little discussion to the social structure which changes while it transmits the manifestations of psychological drives of the individual in their impact upon the cultural patterns.

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Protestantism played an influential part in the modification of the beliefs and attitudes relating to the nonempirical. The first was an all-pervading dynamism oriented to control of the situation in which the actor found himself, as well as a potential hostility to authority; the second was the firm belief underlying all else that there was a principle of order in the universe which could be discovered and put to use. Although Christianity has used the vagaries of fortune to point the moral of the vanity and insecurity of worldly fortune,

> . . . the idea of fortune as an erratic and incalculable force could never be wholly assimilated to Christian doctrine. It contradicted the teaching of divine omnipotence, and of a providential regulation of human affairs. It tended, therefore, to be superseded by a pious quietism--by the idea, namely, that the unequal distribution of worldly fortune is designed by God.[1]

But the Puritan opposed this acquiescence in fortune. It was in diametric opposition to his dynamism, while the divine design, he believed, urged him on to fortune. The worldly future could and should be controlled through knowledge of its causes.[2] His psychological and doctrinal patterns were at one in the conviction that the world could be mastered through the discovery and application of impersonal and universal principles; that chance, gambling, and unearned rewards were, if not illusory, at least undesirable and morally condemned.

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[1] Perry, 1944, pp. 303-304.

[2] *Idem*. It will be recalled that an earlier Puritan, Gataker, asserted that chance was subject to natural law. The Christian Scientist, it will be seen, goes further.

But

> . . . in the seventeenth century no Puritan entirely forgot that God was transcendent and omnipotent, that He was not completely and finally to be fathomed or understood by men. Beyond and behind everything there loomed the inconceivable being about whom no man could confidently predict anything, who was not to be relied upon or perfectly trusted, who might day in and day out deal with men in stated forms, and then suddenly strike without warning, scatter the world into fragments with a casual sweep of His hand.[1]

This attitude, however, did not remain unchanged.

> . . . the New England mind was determined, at whatever dialectical expense, *to play down the concept of stark command, to hold in abeyance the absolute power of God*; it was unresponsive to any scheme of life that omitted the power of rational choice, but it quickened to the idea of *an order based upon volition*.[2]

Thus John Cotton

> . . . moralizes in conventional Puritan fashion that the providence of God and not the natural cause determines every event, including the weather. . . .
>
> . . . nature was seen as the revelation of *God's will in action*. . . .[3]

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[1] Miller, 1939, p. 487.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 449; italics supplied.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 212, 274; italics added.

In the same vein in latter seventeenth century writings of special providences God is made

> . . . to take the place of a cause and thus to bring about an effect through His assuming for the moment the role of a natural agent and binding Himself by natural law.[1]

The full significance of this development is best understood as a shift in the direction from God's transcendence to His immanence within and necessity for the functioning of nature. The Puritan's deepest sense of the world was that it is

> . . . a created fabric held together by a continuous emanation of divine power, apt to be dissolved into nothing should the divine energy be withheld.[2]

The same conception is present in Newton's work since "For the ultimate explanation of the force of gravitation, Newton appealed to the sustaining and all-pervading power of God." His discovery of mechanical order upheld the traditional faith in divine order.[3] For him absolute Space was the infinite sense of divine knowledge and control. Through it God comes into contact with and controls the world; His will controls all and He understands all immediately.[4] "*The divine* consciousness furnishes the ultimate centre of reference for absolute motion."[1] This concept supplied the basis for animism in Newton's conception of force since God is Will also. He was reduced to the repair of irregularities and the necessity of this was gradually lessened as the irregularities were shown to be part of a more comprehensive orderliness. Thus Newton's position is a link between the earlier conception of a miraculous providence and the later identification of God with harmony and order in the universe. Newton had interpolated the nonempirical in the series of empirical events, or fused them perhaps. The omnipotent divine force conceived as impersonal, undeviating, and harmonious was present in the processes of both orders of experience. However, if one attribute of God could thus be incorporated then His other and moral qualities could follow suit, His wisdom, mercy, goodness, love, etc. And if man can search out and press into his service one order of experience, the empirical, then why cannot the same be done with the nonempirical, especially if the latter is one with the former? And why cannot the principles of one order affect and be used to achieve things in the other? The path is an easy one and has been followed.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 230.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 14; also p. 33.

[3] Perry, 1944, p. 149.

[4] Since the Christian Science conception of God is similar it follows that instantaneous healings are produced over no matter what distance between healer and healed.

A widely admired Puritan stated that

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[1] E. A. Burtt, p. 259.

> The reason why we obtain no more in prayer, is, be[c]ause we expect no more: God usually answers us according to our hearts: Narrow hearts, and low expectations, have usually as little as they look for or desire: large expectations are ordinarily answered with large returns: . . . let your eye be as big as your belly: God hath promised you, & therefore you may promise your selves; whatever you ask (*that is good for you*) you shall not ask in vain. . . . [Prayer is not to change God's purpose] but to bring forth his purposes into performance. . . . Such praying fetches out these mercies which were in the heart of God, and puts them into our hand.[1]

Although Alleine is a good enough Puritan, and cautious to boot, to qualify the efficacy of prayer with the proviso that what is prayed for should be to one's true interest,[2] the proposition suggested above can hardly be overlooked. If all that one desires is already in the heart of God and all that one needs is a good, strong, skillful prayer, then the path lies clear for subordinating the supernatural to man's empirical and nonempirical ends. *The locus of decision has shifted from God to man*--potentially, if not yet actually. In his diary Cotten Mather attributes a toothache to his sin. Its cure lies on the moral level and thus it is necessary to seek out and overcome sinful behavior.[3] In this way the decisive factor lies in man's disciplining himself; it lies in one's power to exercise the will so that behavior conforms to the proper standards. Act in such a fashion that the supernatural is moved to accomplish your purposes. Therefore, as has been remarked on another point,

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[1] Alleine, pp. 221, 22, 227-228; italics added.

[2] This matter has already been noticed above in connection with the Christian Scientist's conception of prayer.

[3] Perry, p. 391.

> . . . no rational being could shirk his responsibilities by shifting the blame to God's decree, to his inheritance or to his environment, to his lack of opportunities or to the power of temptation.[1]

If the responsibility is man's and if it lies in his hands to get from the supernatural what he desires, then this position skirts if it does not overstep the limits of Christianity. For "In the Christian view, man is not master of his own fate. He is a created being dependent upon his Creator."[2] If this is indeed the Christian view then it is at odds with the sentiment highly appreciated in the English-speaking world and expressed in Henley's Invictus:

> It matters not how strait the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate:
> I am the captain of my soul.[3]

It is clear that in this development whereby the balance of power between Creator and creature was slowly weighted in favor of the latter, the dignity of man could not but gain in worth. This is the substance for the present study of the process which started with strict Calvinism (Predestination), proceeded through Arminianism (free will and the efficacy of deeds in affecting predestination) and Socinianism (the single personality of God and the humanity of Jesus, however exalted in origin and destiny) to arrive at Unitarianism and sundry kindred movements. Integral with this development was the appearance of the right of private interpretation of Scripture with its note of individual responsibility,[1] disinterested and impersonal devotion to the pursuit of truth regardless of the consequences for even the most respected opinion.[2]

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[1] Miller, 1939, p. 233.

[2] E. O. James, 1940, p. 33.

[3] So Milton's Lucifer might have proudly spoken.

It is possible now with the wisdom of hindsight to detect in one of the early psychological results of ascetic Protestantism the foreshadowing of the course it was to take in altering the status of man vis-à-vis his Creator. The conviction of grace arising from the union of the concepts of predestination and secularly successful labor as proof of election gave to the Puritan "who felt that he was one of the elect ". . . a sense of transcendent power."[1] But this sense of transcendent power was ultimately achieved at the expense of God's. The case of Jonathan Edwards is instructive.

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[1] Cf. Pope Pius XII's latest encyclical, Humani Generis, reaffirming the Church's exclusive right to interpret divinely revealed truth (Time, September 4, 1950, p. 71).

[2] On this course of English Presbyterianism see O. M. Griffiths, 1935. For the critical attitude to instructors as a norm see Dr. John Taylor's charge to his students at Warrington academy (p. 148). The contrast to Catholic and other authoritarian attitudes is striking. The difference in attitude toward priest and minister has been mentioned above.

> His idea [of the identity of all men with Adam] rests upon the theory of creatio continua, i.e., that all created substance is upheld in its existence by an immediate operation of God, a position closely related to his Idealistic emphasis. This leaves virtually no room for the operation of natural law and thus stands in opposition to the traditional Reformed conception of Divine providence.[2]

The consequence was that "Human responsibility seemed to be rendered more certain in the preaching but at the expense of divine sovereignty."[3] The course taken by English Presbyterianism was paralleled in New England theology.

> Gradually religious thought drifted during the period from Edwards to Emerson '*from the Calvinism of transcendence to the Calvinism of immanence*.' It cannot be proven that such a Calvinism of immanence is Calvinism in any true

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[1] Merton, 1938, p. 421, note 18. The serenity of the Christian Scientist is due in part to a similar sense of power.

[2] De Jong, 1945, p. 242, ch. 8, note 4. A century after Edwards' death Mrs. Eddy pushed his Idealism to its ultimate conclusion by denying the reality of the material world altogether. Compare also her *First Church and Miscellany*, 1914, p. 151:21 ff., on God as cause and effect.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 155.

sense of the word.[1]

> The bitter end [of the struggle within Calvinism] was a significant change in their conception of God. The God who was worshipped at the end of the eighteenth century bore little resemblance to the God trusted by the first settlers. *He was shorn of too much of His power over the lives of men*.[2]

The coupling of divine immanence, Unitarianism, Emerson and the limitation of God's power is a clue to the kinship bond that unites Christian Science and related movements. American Unitarianism is a product of New England and a derivative of Calvinism. Its chief origin was in the Congregational parishes of Eastern Massachusetts where Arminian tendencies developed early in the eighteenth century.[3] It may be interpreted as a reflection of ascetic Protestant opposition to authoritarianism in religion as well as in politics.[1] The dynamism of a basic personality oriented to the control of this world is imbedded in what may pass for its "doctrine": the leadership of an exclusively human Jesus; salvation as a purely human act effective in changing character here on earth through the exercise of human powers available to everyone; rejection of the belief in sentencing a soul to eternal happiness or misery; the eternal progress of mankind "onward and upward forever."[2] The step to Transcendentalism, and vice versa, is short. All men have the supernatural within them; the divine was everywhere, that is, the immanence of God. The Transcendentalist was confident in and relied upon his own natural powers and capabilities, had faith in the results of obedience to natural law and in the possible realization of the divine by human nature.[3]

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 171. The inner quote (italics supplied) is from Fenn, *Unitarianism*, in *Religious History of New England*.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 176; compare also pp. 196-197; the italics are added. The same theological change holds true for a somewhat later period, a century and a half ago:

"The life of the Churches . . . shows the transition from Calvinism to Arminianism--from 'predestination' to 'salvation available for all.' All our Churches during the Colonial period were more or less strongly Calvinistic; today, representative American denominations are equally Arminian. . . [the] . . . distinctive American conception of religion and life. . . ." (Robert W. Goodloe, review of W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, in *The Review of Religion*, May, 1947, p. 434).

[3] Harvard University started out as Congregationalist, established its Divinity School as Unitarian in 1817, and finally in 1878 severed its affiliation with any specific religious faith by the organization of an undenominational theological school.

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[1] Rev. Charles Graves, pp. 194-197, in Julius A. Weber, 1931.

[2] *Idem*.

[3] "Transcendentalism," *The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia*, vol. 11. It is suggestive for the relation of failure of Protestant emotional inhibition and endurance of the strain of individual responsibility that the elements of spontaneity and impulse in Transcendentalism led at times to Catholicism; for example, Isaac Hecker, founder of the Paulist Order, and Orestes Bronson. In Hawthorne's literature and offspring the attraction of Catholicism (and Anglicanism as its closest Protestant parallel) for the tired Protestant who needed external support and emotional release is apparent. See F. O. Matthiessen, 1941, pp. 350, 362. (The fear of and

(Continued on the following page)

Perhaps the most direct and certainly a most accessible insight into the psychologically consistent transformation of the ascetic Protestant personality may be obtained from Matthiessen's acute analysis of its literary expression. He notes

> . . . the breakdown of Puritan orthodoxy into Unitarianism, and the quickening of the cool Unitarian strain into the spiritual and emotional fervor of transcendentalism.[1]

as well as the kinship of Emerson to the founder of Christian Science and the inventor of the automobile production line:

> From the weaker aspects of Emerson's thought, the rocking chair of Mary Baker Eddy, as has been observed, is only just around the corner; and it is no long step from his indiscriminate glorification of power to the predatory career of Henry Ford who still declares Emerson's Essays to be his favorite reading.[2]

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[3] (Continued from the previous page) hostility to Catholicism on the other hand is a partial consequence of the tendency of the Protestant to see himself as _one_ individual against "the Catholics" as one huge organized body.)

For a Protestant reaction against emotional inhibition in a scholarly work see Northrop, _The Meeting of East and West_. Compare Raphael Demos' review of it in _Philosophy and Phenomenological Research_, 1947, pp. 276-280.

The effect of ascetic Protestantism upon analysis of emotion has been ambivalent. The importance attributed to the feeling of certainty in the possession of a genuine state of grace encouraged introspective analysis and the Puritan addiction to diaries. But the extreme development of inhibition made emotional expression suspect and prying into one's emotional states difficult as well as repugnant.

[1] P. viii.

[2] P. 368. Although there is sound insight in connecting these three, its justice to Mrs. Eddy is somewhat less (Continued on the following page)

It is only too easy to discern in Emerson the lineaments of Christian Science. Mrs. Eddy also rejected Calvinism but retained more of the Puritan strain than she was aware of.[1] His belief in the immanence of God in man, the stress on life and action, his cheerfulness are all to be found in Christian Science. It is not far from Emerson's conception of the material world as an expression of the spiritual or real, his artistic dictum that "Order is matter subdued by mind.", and his assertion that beneficent laws control the world[2] to Mrs. Eddy's denial of the material as real[3] and the calm certainty that the real=God=Good for man.[4] The endowment

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[2] (Continued from the previous page)
than fair. She, no less than they, was enamored of power; and all three fit snugly within the frame of the ascetic Protestant personality type.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.*, *passim*.

[3] Christian Science is logically the most extreme development of one of the two alternatives in empirical-nonempirical dualism which maintains that each can affect the other--the total elimination of the empirical as unreal; materialism and philosophic naturalism take the position that the nonempirical is nonexistent.

[4] *Science and Health*, Glossary, p. 587: "Good. God; Spirit, omnipotence; omniscience; omnipresence; omniaction." The universe is an immaterial something that is either a divine principle originally established by a divine entity or is this divine entity (Mind, God, etc.) itself. But in either case this immanent something is at man's disposal as well as in man, as may be inferred from the application of the concept, "image of God."
(Continued on the following page)

of Christian Science with an even more respectable philosophic tradition is not difficult.

> It might be supposed that this surprising conclusion of Bishop Berkeley [a material object is the subjectively projected association of qualities which one immediately senses] is of purely theoretical significance. Quite the contrary is the case. Christian Science is precisely this Berkeleyan theory of matter put into practice seriously as a religion and a technique for treating health and disease. If all that we mean by body is merely the association of sense data for a mind, as must be the case if the Lockean theory of ideas is correct, then the human body is precisely what the Christian Scientists maintain it to be. It is not an accident that Christian Science originated in the

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[4] (Continued from the previous page)

"In . . . by Mary Baker Eddy, we read . . . , 'Health is not a condition of matter, but of Mind.' Note that Mind is capitalized, meaning that it is synonymous with God. We conclude then that health is a quality of God. Since God is infinite Spirit, health must be spiritual; it is not material. Health has its source in Soul, God, not in body. It is an attribute of Life, not subject to death. It is eternal, not temporal. It is changeless, unvarying, indestructible, sufficient, and permanent. It is powerful and ever present.

Health has nothing to do with time or place. Man cannot lose, sacrifice, or be deprived of health, because he reflects it as God's expression of holiness. Health is not cumulative. It is not something that one can take into his possession, add to, and store up in reserve.

As a quality of God, health is expressed by His image and likeness, man, eternally. Humanly, it is the evidence of our comprehension of God's perfection. As an idea of Mind, health is ever unfolding in consciousness. It is inseparable from man. Health is sustained by divine law, perpetuated by the might of omnipotence, maintained by the power of omnipresence, and retained in real consciousness by the power of omniscience." ("Health Belongs to Man," C.S.M., August 22, 1949)

The implication is that man participates in divinity, an idea also implicit in the notion of "our comprehension of God's perfection," something which is both unHebraic and unChristian. Compare also "Release From Bad Habits," C.S.M., August 25, 1949.

> New England portion of the United States with its exceedingly modern and Lockean culture. Again we see how alterations in our basic philosophical conceptions define our moral, religious, and medical values and give rise to quite new social facts such as the practices and buildings of the Christian Science church.[1]

John Quincy Adam's observation that Emerson's transcendentalism and the animal magnetism that was the vogue in 1840 were both manifestations of religious sentiment[2] takes on added meaning when it is recalled that this same animal magnetism played an important if disputed part in Mrs. Eddy's own religious development. The Transcendentalist's demand for freedom from restraint, his doctrine of merging with the Over-Soul, and relinquishment of the "traditional piety to assert the divineness of himself"[3] are scarcely if at all disguised in the dynamism of Christian Science and the At-one-ment with Good. The Christian Scientist, like Emerson and Thoreau, denies any limits to mind's potentialities (after all, Mind is omnipotent and omniscient) and, like Thoreau, calls for (and promises through Christian Science) the realization of man's submerged potentialities.[1] If the Transcendentalist's "serene affirmations were never tested by as much suffering and evil as he [Melville] had seen,"[2] the same may be said with apparent justice of the Christian Scientist's serene dismissal of suffering and evil as "errors of mortal mind."[3] The cheerful optimism of the Transcendentalist and the Christian Scientist is a testimonial to an ascetic Protestant personality released from the burden of man's innate depravity and original sin.

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[1] Northrop, p. 114. Northrop makes no attempt to trace any relationship between Berkeley, Locke, and Mrs. Eddy, no attempt to establish the path, if any, from the cognitive level with which he operates to the concrete levels of action and personality whereby church buildings are established; he neglects the dynamics of motivation by means of which ideas affect action.

[2] Matthiessen, p. 61, note 9.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 66-67, 84, 93 note.

It is characteristic of Emerson as representative of the shift in the balance of power between man and God that, in quoting from Herbert's *Man*, he selects the portion stressing the *servants* of man and omits that in which *man is a servant to God*. Of Emerson's concluding myth about man's creative power Matthiessen correctly remarks that it is "mystical, but no longer Christian."[4] It is merely an instance, albeit a significant one, of the dynamic Protestant personality's rebellion against supernatural control and its urge to dominate the world, the nonempirical and empirical both. Mary Baker Eddy follows a familiar path when she brands as erroneous and an infringement on man's free moral agency "the practically rejected doctrine of the predestination of souls to damnation or salvation."[1]

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 84, 112.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 123.

[3] The Transcendentalist claimed that the effect of the unseen (the Spirit) upon man was necessarily good (p. 405).

[4] Pp. 107-108; compare p. 446.

It is clear that the roots of Christian Science are firmly imbedded in a tradition that is thoroughly American and wholly Protestant. It is unnecessary to go further than these to account for the transcendentalist conceptions sketched above, nor, for that matter, for the Christian Scientist's denial of the reality of matter. While the possibility exists that the vogue of Hindu philosophy at the time may have affected Mrs. Eddy's thought by way of Emerson, Thoreau, etc. or even less directly,[2] the basically American-Protestant dynamism toward life is wholly foreign and antagonistic to that traditionalism and resigned passivity characteristic of Hinduism. If Mrs. Eddy had taken anything from the latter it was of such a nature and so utilized that the authentically Protestant dynamism was enhanced. It is profoundly symbolic that while Buddha is the Way-Shower to a salvation that is freedom from involvement in the wheel of life which is but an illusion, Jesus in the Christian Scientist's view is the Way-Shower to a salvation that affirms life and considers death illusory.[1] Contrary to the Indian mystic the Christian Scientist, and more broadly the Westerner, takes an active attitude toward life and the world; he seeks new strength and direction in oneness with his ethical deity.[2] His individuality expands because his self-sufficiency is heightened while responsibility for his actions is enhanced.[1]

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[1] Science and Health, p. 150, ll.23-26. She "knew" from her childhood experience of controlling her Calvinistic father that love can conquer omnipotence in the guise of predestination. Her stress on the importance of love as a sovereign remedy is also sound psychoanalytic doctrine, orthodox (Pfister) and heretical (Suttie).

[2] Braden, 1949, pp. 189-190.

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[1] The antithetical nature of these attitudes by faiths which share a common belief as to the nature of the supernatural is explicable on historical and psychological grounds. The Christian Science conception developed in response to the imperious needs of an exceedingly dynamic personality type which had already succeeded in imposing its will upon the external world. To this personality (and the West in general) the attitude of Buddha to life and death is repugnant. Compare Northrop's quotation from Edwin Arnold's "The Light of Asia" (p. 379); contrast Henley's *Invictus*.

[2] Steiger, p. 124. This oneness with the divine is not ecstatic as is that of Indian mysticism, nor is ecstasy stressed in Christian Science (p. 78, note 18). There is far too much inhibition of emotion in the Christian Scientist's make-up for anything so disturbing as ecstasy. This same author seems to be unaware of the really radical nature of the Christian Scientist's conception of God which, he says, is wholly devoid of the anthropomorphic personalism that has characterized Christianity up until recently and still does for many, if not for most (p. 122). For him Christian Science is merely the unfolding of Christian doctrine with less emphasis on person than on principle (p. 130).

It is worth noting that this element of Christian Science plays into and probably is re-enforced by that characteristic of childhood thought observed by Piaget. Its tendency is to fuse two notions, the physical regularity of the universe and moral rules:

"Nature is a harmonious whole, obeying laws that are as much moral as physical and that are above all penetrated down to the least detail with an anthropomorphic or even egoistic finalism." (pp. 186, 255.)

The impersonal and universalistic patterns of Christian Scientists' rearing in which response is predicated upon conformance to this type of norm is quite compatible with this kind of children's thinking.

This expansion of self-sufficiency is inherent to

> The American character, [which] whatever its shortcomings, abounds in courage, creative energy and resourcefulness, and is bottomed upon the profound conviction that nothing in the world is beyond its power to accomplish.[2]

The historian's appraisal agrees with that of an anthropologist.

> The whole trend in the U. S. is away from every sort of biological limitations on human activity and achievement. . . . Biological facts of ugliness, sickness, physical handicap and death are limiting facts [not for the Christian Scientist]--and the American [read ascetic Protestant] is interested in transcending limitations, not in conforming to them. Death--which is one biological fact that we have found no way to transcend with technological devices [the Christian Scientist might have reservations on this point]--we ignore [as does the Christian Scientist who goes further and denies it] as far as possible.[3]

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[1] Steiger, p. 206. This is an accurate and concise statement of the ascetic Protestant position.

[2] Schlesinger, 1949, p. 22. This is the concluding sentence of a chapter which, in the context of the present study, is a series of ad hoc explanations of personality traits most of which have been explained here as the outcome in varying degrees of ascetic Protestantism. This attitude, it should be noted, must not be confused with the fact that man has at all times striven to utilize nature for his own ends.

[3] Margaret Mead, 1946, p. 218.
The attraction which Christian Science and its promise must have had in its early days is better understood against the background of ". . . the 'sixties, 'seventies, and

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It is clear that if these appraisals of American character are correct then Christian Science is not only within the trend to which Mead refers but far out in front. As such its reaction to the limitation of sickness is of interest as indicative of strains in the social structure one response to which is illness with its "secondary gain," temporary avoidance of responsibility.[1] It will be recalled that in American society as a whole and in the occupational sector especially the emphasis is very strongly upon the acceptance of responsibility and the orientation to achievement as part of that responsibility. The functionally undesirable nature of serious deviation from these elements in the normative pattern is as obvious as the strain which they impose upon the individual. One large-scale "loophole" for him has already been noted in the high evaluation placed upon the duty to make an effort; failure to achieve is absolved in good part if one has done one's best.[2] There is

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[3] (Continued from the previous page)
'eighties, [when] there was more incipient and chronic invalidism in America than one can possibly imagine today.

". . . the newspapers of the period gave the impression of a nation afflicted with creaking joints, rheumatic limbs, catarrhal colds, and a host of mysterious 'ailments' and 'afflictions.'" (Carey McWilliams, 1946, p. 99). He observes that ailing Middle Westerners set out in droves after reading about the wonders of Southern California climate. This area is still very fertile soil for both Christian Science and the paramagic of all kinds of nostrums and healers.

[1] See Parsons, The Social System, unpublished draft, ch. 4.

[2] See pp. 76 ff.

in addition to this outlet and sickness another and closely allied response: the recourse to alcohol. Common to both alcoholism and sickness is the normative obligation to strive to get well, to recover from both so that responsibility and achievement may be taken up again. Now if there is anything characteristic of the Christian Scientist it is this very emphasis upon effort, effort exerted in disciplining the impulse life and bending the empirical and nonempirical aspects of the environment to the accomplishment of his middle-class goals.

It is surely of more than incidental significance that this personality which is so powerfully motivated toward the traditional American goals and virtues has so completely and even vehemently rejected two major palliatives of the tension that is inherent in the American way of life. There are no alcoholics among Christian Scientists while sickness is non-existent, an "error of mortal mind." Failure does not appear in their lexicon; it is defined as unreal, impossible. There can be no bodily weaknesses which interfere with achievement as there is no refuge from its associated tensions. The temptation and threat presented to the integration of this personality by alcohol and, inferentially, sickness are such that the aroused counter-anxiety is sufficient to prevent the resort to liquor and the operation of the "reality-check" in defining sickness as present. The reaction in both instances bears the mark of overreaction. It surely cannot be an accident that

Christian Science has sunk its roots most deeply in the middle and upper classes where the ascetic Protestant demand for independence and achievement is strongest. Christian Science may be regarded as an "overreaction" to the strain generated by the ascetic Protestant-influenced American social structure.

Margaret Mead describes the difference in outlook between this country and England, a difference which is understandable when it is realized that only in the United States did the broken-pattern situation allow ascetic Protestantism so free a hand in creating a society in its own image. In England it was forced to compromise with while penetrating a solidly established social structure. Where "Americans see the world as man-controlled" the English views man "as the junior partner of God."[1]

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[1] Quoted in Barnard, 1948, p. viii. Compare the marked gap between the practitioner-population ratios of the two countries. One may refer also to the American tendency "to pass a law" as a reflection of the ascetic Protestant drive to control instead of adapting to the environment. On the other hand, the equal readiness to flout the law (so unBritish) is part of this same personality's independence and anti-authoritarianism.

Bertrand Russell is quoted as follows:

"To all intents and purposes God is an adjunct of man, a help in church work and in procuring victory in man-made wars. The Power that humbled Job out of the whirlwind no longer finds an echo in American mentality. . . ." (Time, January 23, 1950, p. 18)

In editorializing on recent psychological findings and hinting their support of the Monitor's religious conceptions of the world, this quotation from Emerson appears:

"As the world was plastic and fluid in the hands of God,

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The Christian Scientist, however, is not, all protestations to the contrary notwithstanding (see the editorial below), really satisfied to remain "the junior partner of God." It has already been remarked that there is a tendency or possibility that the belief in the immanence of the divine in the universe extends to the immanence of divinity in man. Further, if there is at the same time a belief in the influence of the divine upon the empirical, then it is logical to unite the implications of these propositions and hold that man who is partially divine can use the divine power for his own purposes.

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[1] (Continued from the previous page)
so it is ever to so much of his attributes as we bring to it. To ignorance and sin, it is flint. They adapt themselves to it as they may; but in proportion as a man has anything in him divine, the firmament flows before him and takes his signet and form." (October 17, 1949)

And, continues the editorial,

"To many people, as to Emerson, this has remained merely a transcendental faith; they have not known how to demonstrate scientifically that man in God's image is endowed with dominion over all material appearances." This same world of material appearances conceals the fact that in Christian Science

". . . every spiritual law or promise is based on Principle and is therefore invariable and constant, absolutely uninfluenced by chance or luck." ("Without Amendment," C.S.M., January 20, 1948). Compare page 400 above with its footnote reference to the early Puritan, Gataker, and the advertisement, "Is Life Subject to Chance?" (C.S.M., February 24, 1950).

Mead's "empty continent" as a partial explanation of "the great sense of mechanical control of the environment" does not seem to fit the Russians with their "empty continent." It took a revolution with a Western ideology to create "the release of energy" (Maynard, 1948) there, an energy inherent in the ascetic Protestant type.

Finally, there is what apparently seems to be the ultimate extension of these ideas: only the divine or spiritual is real; all else is an illusion. For the Christian Scientist all that is not God is non-existent, the result of mortal error. Thus what had started out as a dualistic conception, reality is both empirical and nonempirical, ends in a monistic conception, only the latter is real. It follows that in the Christian Scientist's monistic universe the concept of the supernatural has no place.[1] But while the sociologist must accept this as part of his actors' definition of the situation he is under no such compulsion to accept the proposition as his own in his description and analysis of their beliefs and actions. As concrete individuals he sees Christian Scientists using in the achievement of empirical purposes forces which are supernatural _for the sociologist_. This is evident from a sympathizer's description of Christian Science healing.

> When we realize that it is the monistic aspect, the re-identification of the situation from the point of view of a religious _a priori_ and the denial of all that is in opposition to it which accomplishes the healing, we see an enormous difference between Christian Science practice and a position of supplication to an objective God for liberation from some ailment.[2]

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[1] Steiger, p. 195. "Man is seen as the embodiment of the qualities of God." (p. 213) Compare _Science and Health_, p. 134.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 179. An instance of the correct metaphysical position as given above in a quotation from "Health Belongs to Man."

When to this conception of a divine immanence as the only reality there is added Steiger's correct observation that Christian Science has eliminated the "anthropomorphic personalism" hitherto characteristic of Christianity, the result is a conception of an impersonal and immanent sacred force (Christ) in the universe[1] which is at the disposal of man for the satisfaction of all his desires--if only his limitless capabilities are exercised, through Christian Science, to the utmost.[2]

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[1] Mrs. Eddy's oscillation between the personal and impersonal view of God has been discussed in the preceding chapter. In general the explanation is in terms of a need for control over all aspects of her situation and an equally imperious desire for affectional response. The latter is automatically available through Christian Science from a personal God who is also responsible ultimately for any failure of achievement by a Christian Scientist which it is not desirable to attribute to faulty technique. Steiger stresses this latter explanation:

"We can also understand that any deviation from the metaphysically correct standpoint [quoted immediately above in the text] is an impediment to the effectiveness of the treatment." (p. 179).

This is of course one of the standard explanations for the failure of magic in all societies and underscores the identity of Christian Science practice with magical practices elsewhere. The other explanation for failure is the intervention of a superior sacred power; God in the Christian Science system--who knows what is best for the Scientist when he fails with his technique.

[2] For example,

"'We are all capable of more than we do.' Mrs. Eddy writes (. . . p. 128), 'Business men and cultured scholars have found that Christian Science enhances their endurance and mental powers, enlarges their perception of character, gives them acuteness and comprehensiveness and an ability to exceed their ordinary capacity.'" (Advertisement, C.S.M., reference lost) For the Puritan equivalent as Alleine put it: ". . . let your eye be as big as your belly: God hath promised you, & therefore you may promise your selves; whatever you ask (that is good for you) you shall not ask in vain." (already quoted)

If it is argued that Christian Science in "Making God the servant of man and creating a heaven on earth in the consciousness of the God-power was alien to Protestant theology,"[1] then the answer must be, as has been shown, that while Christian Science is alien to Protestant theology as it started out in the Reformation, it and a good many other American Protestant faiths are genuine developments from (and away from) Protestant doctrine; they are wholly within the ascetic Protestant personality type,[2] and accept the traditional Hebrew-Christian ethic.[3]

Whether or not Christian Science is classified as Christian[4] depends upon what is taken as the essence of Christianity.

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[1] Bach, 1948, p. 219.

[2] In chapters 5 and 6 of Bach's work it is possible to detect an element common to most of the cults or sects described: the emphasis upon nonempirical power exercised by the individual. Unity and Science of Mind are two developments that are conceptually indistinguishable from Christian Science. The shift of believers among all three testifies to this. Compare Cady, Lessons in Truth, 1935, and Ernest Holmes, The Science of Mind, 1942.

[3] The founder of Christian Science was entirely conventional in ethics; her attention was concentrated upon a doctrine of magical healing. Her acceptance and positive sanction of the contemporary American social structure confirms Weber's view on the relation between an immanent-impersonal sacred forces conception and traditionalism. Mrs. Eddy was not a prophet (exemplary or mission) but a magician.

[4] Braden, 1949, does (p. 190); Fisher does not (1930). If Toynbee's conception of the unique element in the monotheistic Jahwist-derived religions (p. 83) be taken as a norm, then Christian Science is not.

This attitude toward the nonempirical as the servant of man is far wider than an examination of the multitude of American sects would indicate, and is in turn linked with the dynamic quality of the American Protestant. The use of the supernatural by the Christian Scientist is intimately related to his need for response and drive for control over his own emotions, his body, people, nature, and God. These twin needs are at the same time a witness to a relatively high level of psychic insecurity, especially with reference to emotional inhibition, an insecurity that is met by magic regardless of what may be objectively a high degree of middle-class achievement.[1] By the same token, that is, to the degree that Christian Science is but a single facet of a multiform phenomenon,[2] other and more secular expressions of the same underlying attitude should be evident, aside from such generalizations as that of Margaret Mead. It is perhaps sufficient to mention the class of advertisements promising to develop one's personality (or biceps), talents, will power, culture, etc. The immense popularity of Emily Post, Dale Carnegie, Henry C. Link,[1] etc. is characteristic.

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[1] The prevalence of magic among nonliterate or peasant peoples may be more closely related to objective insecurity due to an inadequate technology. In both cases, however, the important point for the genesis and re-emergence of magic is the gap between aspirations and achievements; subjective insecurity affords an important motivation for religion, magic, and paramagic.

[2] This is not meant to derogate from either the uniqueness or magnitude of Mrs. Eddy's achievement. Although it is obviously impossible to accept Steiger's intimation that she is the intellectual peer, if not the superior, of Aristotle, Plato, Kant, et al., it is nonetheless true that she is superior to Jesus in this sense: Christianity is a posthumous accident in so far as Jesus is concerned; Christian Science is her deliberate creation. The fact that it is a unique synthesis of previously existing ideas does not detract from the merit of its author. Both Mrs. Eddy and Jesus selected from and reinterpreted the written and oral sacred and secular traditions of their day according to their needs; the former could not very well comply with 1 Timothy 2:12; the latter concentrated upon Isaiah.

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[1] The Return to Religion, 1937. For this psychologist of Methodist upbringing religion is a means to a genuinely ascetic Protestant goal.

"The religion I speak of, therefore, is not the refuge of the weak but the weapon of those who would be strong. I see religion as an aggressive mode of life, by which the individual becomes the master of his environment, not its complacent victim." (pp. 15-16) The blurb on the cover of a Pocket Books edition (1943) bears this legend:

"How To Develop Personality": "Every person can and should develop a stronger personality. This is the essence of religion, according to Dr. Henry C. Link's book, The Return to Religion."

It would seem that for both Mrs. Eddy and Dr. Link and, inferentially, for a good part of contemporary ascetic Protestantism, the ultimate goal is the development of a vigorous personality. God is, in effect, a penultimate value or means to this end. Considering the difference in intensity of religious conviction on the part of these two, it may be that it might have been less the fading of religious faith or its secularization which accounts for the shift from traditional Protestantism to the Christian Science type of belief than the psychological pressures induced by ascetic Protestantism.

By a particularly happy accident the present writer finds himself on a mailing list used by Harper and Brothers. Hence his reception in February of 1948 of the publisher's blurb extolling in the same envelope the merits of Emmet Fox (Pastor of the Church of the Healing Christ) whose works reveal that "Right within your own mentality there is a source of energy stronger than electricity, more potent than high explosives, unlimited and inexhaustible," and of Donald A. Laird's Increasing Personal Efficiency, which tells the less

(Continued on the following page)

V. THE CROSS

The shift in the balance of power between Creator and created is evidenced on the level of symbolism as well as in those more concrete[1] expressions heretofore cited. The cross is a symbol of man's dependence on the divine. *On the colonial New England churches it is replaced by a utilitarian implement, the weathervane.*[2] It is difficult to accept as all-sufficient the usual explanation that Puritanism rejected the crucifix along with ritual as symbols of Catholicism. Certainly this can be no reason for substituting a weathervane. After all, the various Protestant sects accept the historicity of the Gospel's account of the crucifixion and are therefore equally entitled to the crucifix (and cross) as a symbol, especially since they look with less suspicion on the empty cross. A more adequate but not necessarily contradictory account may be at hand, if the tremendous emotional weight back of this symbol is realized.[1]

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[1] (Continued from the previous page) religiously inclined how to "Get what you want out of life"--and for "only $2.50."

Whether these guides would be more efficient or not is hard to judge but one observer has gone so far as to say that: "It is quite true, in fact, that the Christian Science faith seems to make its followers prosperous." (Frazier, October 8, 1949). Why this should be so is not difficult to understand in terms of the present study. Not only are successful business men attracted to Christian Science by its promise (response as well as "supply") but the type of person attracted to it is of the type which has the drive and disciplined will to succeed in business. It is characteristic of the interest that Christian Science has in business as a disinterested activity that the *Monitor* publishes lessons with such titles as "What Is Successful Selling?" (December 10, 1946), "The Businessman" (June 3, 1946) and "Business Security" (July 20, 1948).

[1] Whether this material is to be (or has been) used in an office building for Christian Scientist practitioners, the first of its kind in the world, the writer does not know. But, according to a *News-Press* (Glendale, California, August 19, 1948, p. 10-D) clipping supplied by Dr. Luke M. Smith, this $200,000 building will have 41 offices and parking space for 50 cars. The building will be (or has been) erected in a prosperous section of Hollywood, a tribute to the clients who will pay for it.

[2] As a rule the early colonial churches which retained the cross were either Catholic, Lutheran, "high church" Episcopalian, or Anglican, faiths in which the pressures toward emotional inhibition were quite mild. See the photographs and sketches in Marlowe, 1947; Wallace, 1931; and Lathrop, 1938.

Precisely because of the immense and immensely disturbing impact of the cross upon the emotionally inhibited ascetic Protestant the latter, it is submitted, found it, if not necessary, at least convenient and relieving to reject this symbol. There may well have been something deeply if subconsciously disturbing to the fiercely self-reliant Protestant in the sight of a symbol which signified dependency, frustration, agony, and death. It is profoundly significant of the relation between the absence of the cross and the capacity to withstand unaided the strains set up by emotional inhibition and moral responsibility, that those denominations which have earlier and more completely returned to or retained the cross and elaborate ritual in worship are least marked by emotional discipline.[1] On the other hand, the most extreme development of the inhibition and autonomy marking the ideal type of ascetic Protestant personality, a development that has subjugated the supernatural to man's purposes, namely Christian Science, is precisely the denomination which has most completely banished the cross and ritual.[2] If Christian Science is a polar manifestation at one end of a continuum, Catholicism belongs at the other. A Catholic church without a cross is probably as rare as a Christian Science edifice with one.[3] Without too much exaggeration it may be said that while the Catholic lives a life that requires a new New Year's resolution daily and the Christian Scientist's life is one life-long New Year's resolution, the remaining Christian denominations are somewhere in between.

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[1] Langer, 1948, p. 231.

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[1] No unilinear development is visible in the psychological tendencies of Protestantism as a whole. While Christian Science has intensified emotional inhibition, Methodism which once was unalterably opposed to card-playing, dancing, smoking, and drinking now officially disapproves only the latter. Significantly enough most Protestant denominations prefer a substitute for wine, grape juice for example, in Holy Communion; but the less inhibited Episcopalians and Lutherans do not.

Not infrequently sects have formed which satisfy the emotional needs of lower-class members only to have them drop out when emotionally inhibiting doctrines have aided in the development of personality traits which make for success and social ascent. As this occurs the preaching and atmosphere often tend to become less emotional, more "respectable" and hence less in tune with the originating needs.

[2] Christian Science denies the reality of sin and suffering and promises that redemption may be won at will, at any time, by anyone.

[3] Compare the photographs and architectural sketches in Faulkner, 1946. Curiously enough a small cross is shown cut into the stone over the main entrance of the First Church at Concord, New Hampshire (p. 112); but a picture postcard view of this building and a photograph of it (p. 114) show no cross (Continued on the following page)

It is, or appears to be, a fact that Christian Scientists do not really know why there are no crosses on their buildings; they seem to feel that it would be improper, or, rather, that church buildings without crosses are proper. When asked for an explanation they may rationalize (in the writer's view) by citing passages in Mrs. Eddy's writings. Yet, according to the librarian of a Christian Science reading room, there are no statements in Mrs. Eddy's works regarding the use of the cross or other symbols on Christian Science edifices although there are a number on symbolism which might be appropriate.[1] But these passages do not explain why the cross should be viewed with abhorrence; it is actually mentioned in a favorable context. Furthermore, it is rather

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[3] (Continued from the previous page) either on the steeple or elsewhere.

The mention of First Church as the name of a Christian Science church recalls one manifestation of the rationality and order in the ascetic Protestant modal personality. The Christian Scientists carry to the ultimate degree the practice of numbering their churches chronologically; no other Protestant denomination, to say nothing of Catholic and Jewish faiths, even approaches the Christian Scientist in this respect. Compare the classified telephone directory of any large city, as this writer has that for Los Angeles of March, 1949.

[1] In a letter dated April 5, 1947. The references are to Science and Health, 34:13; 280:2; First Church and Miscellany, 151:23, 248:18.

remarkable in view of the disparaging attitude toward symbols that one is often found on Mrs. Eddy's books; a crown on a cross within a double circle enclosing the legend: Heal the sick. Raise the dead; cleanse the lepers, cast out demons. Thus, for the Christian Scientist only the magical significance of the cross is retained.[1] The present writer learned by accident that abhorrent is not too strong a word for the emotion experienced by the clerk of a Christian Science church when asked over the telephone whether the ornament on its cupola was a cross.[2] The reply, with shocked emotion, was, "No, no, no, oh no! It's a weathervane!"

VI. CONCLUSIONS

It is now possible to summarize the evidence and arrive at a solution of the problem posed by the three questions at the outset of this study. Was Protestantism instrumental in the elimination of magic in the area in which it is predominant? Is Christian Science for the most part a set of magical practices? Is Christian Science a Protestant sect? An unqualified affirmative must be returned for the first two questions. The third requires rephrasing before it can be answered: In what respects is Christian Science Protestant and how does it differ? The answer involves the recognition of three interdependent levels of behavior, the cognitive, affective, and conative.

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[1] The essential dynamism of Protestantism is evident in the significance of the empty cross as a symbol of the affirmation of personality and will in the conquest of death. The cross and crown signifies no less.

[2] There is in Faulkner's book a photograph of a church the ornament of which might be taken for a cross. The telephone call (instead of a visit to the church which was about fifteen minutes' drive, was due to the writer's being under (medical) treatment) inquired about it.

The Christian Science Monitor, incidentally, prohibits the publication of Xmas as an abbreviation. Would it be too far-fetched to detect the influence of the negative sentiment attached to the cross?

In so far as conceptions of the supernatural are indispensable in accounting for receptivity or hostility to magic, the history of Judaism teaches that the idea of a personal deity who is transcendent and omnipotent is fundamentally opposed to magic which rests upon the implicit or explicit proposition that there are impersonal and immanent sacred forces. In those periods and movements when the conception of Yahweh veered in the direction of the latter magical practices appeared. To the extent that Christianity retained Judaism's central conception of a personal Yahweh who was omnipotent and transcendent, that is, qualitatively different from the world and its contents, Christianity inherited its progenitor's animus against magic. But to the degree that the elements of transcendence and personality were modified in the direction of their opposites, the antagonism to magical practices was moderated as Roman Catholicism testifies. It is beside the point that in effect the Church, an organization which claims a monopoly of the impersonal grace necessary for salvation, finds it expedient for reasons of propaganda, discipline, and finance to acquiesce in or take advantage of the practice of magic; its dualistic conception of the nature of God, at once personal and impersonal, transcendent and immanent, affords a basis for the implicit postulates of magic.

On the deeper levels of basic personality type arising from religious influences upon the nature of family relations, the effect of Catholicism, Lutheranism, and ascetic Protestantism in conjunction with doctrinal peculiarities has been different. The importance of the Catholic Church and subsidiary sacred entities mediating between man and God combined with the parallel position of the mother as intercessor in matters of childhood discipline to establish in child and adult the notion, however vague and dimly felt, that the sequence of cause and effect was not inevitable, that it could be evaded or circumvented. This attitude is in fundamental opposition to both magic and science but favors particularistic magical intervention.

Lutheran doctrine and family life have had a different result. The divine will sanctioned an overwhelming paternal authority which exacted unconditional obedience to its rules and whims, rendering maternal protection and intercession nugatory. The tendency to acquiesce to authority and carry out orders at whatever cost to ego's desires favored the creation of faithful and industrious workers but discouraged any expectation that the sequence of cause and effect could be controlled and used for private ends against the established order of things, persons, and institutions. The Lutheran God encouraged passive resignation to the status quo. Traditionalism in Catholic and Lutheran society was indirectly promoted by the immanental element in the conception of God which tended to endow the established social structure with a quality of impersonal divine sanction that was not identical with the sanctioning of ruling authorities by God in Romans 13:1. But unlike Catholicism all legitimate callings were of equal merit as paths to salvation.

The influence of ascetic Protestantism has been distinctive in its molding of personality type and attitude toward the underlying assumptions of magic. On the level of explicit doctrine the conception of an omnipotent and transcendental personal deity has been emphasized to the ultimate degree, especially in the idea of predestination. God's inexorable will rules in the empirical and nonempirical domains; it is revealed and can be studied in the operation of nature's laws. His will regarding the individual's supernatural destiny (salvation or damnation), it came to be believed, was shown in the concrete fruits which the godly earned in the struggle to build the Kingdom of God on Earth, if need be at the expense of a "fleshly" and therefore unhallowed social order. And one of the means to this divinely ordered social engineering and its fruits was indirectly this same divine will which was at work in the inevitable causal sequence of empirical events. This conception of regularity and rationality in nature as a manifestation of God's will was of course not confined to ascetic Protestantism since it had inherited the idea from medieval Catholic thought which in turn had assimilated to Christianity the fruits of classical Greek philosophy. But what was, for the purposes of this study, the decisive influence of ascetic Protestant doctrines was the dynamic personality type that grew out of their impact on family life. The Protestant knew not only theologically but on the basis of childhood experience that impersonal rules and objective standards were in force. Rewards, affectional or other, were appraised by specific criteria and earned by conformance to rules which constrained authority itself. There were, ideally, no particularistic exceptions to principles, no intercessions, no evasions or appeals from the sequence: deviation from the rules brings punishment. On the other hand, there could be no legitimate evasion of the rewards promised upon achievement according to clearly understood principles and by legitimate means. An independent, self-reliant and morally autonomous personality grew up, confident that it could, and what was equally important, ought to achieve its legitimate purposes in whose services the forces of nature could be yoked. The energy-tensions induced by ascetic Protestant dogmatic propositions and the associated affective inhibitions were directed toward (1) the creation of a social order in which free play would be given to and rewards bestowed upon demonstrated capacity, and (2) the subjugation to man's will and empirical purposes of the handiwork of God, physical nature, in whose immutable principles he sought to understand the nature of its Creator. In all this the Christian Scientist is a Protestant among Protestants. But the intensification of emotional inhibition and the need for affectional response urged Protestant dynamically oriented independence and distaste for authority one step further. The Protestant "tool of God" who turned upon and uprooted magic as an insult to the divine majesty extended to the nonempirical the lessons he had learned from his control of nature. If God was immanent and operative in nature and man controlled the latter for his own empirical ends by setting in motion impersonal principles, did it not follow that man controlled what was immanent and operative in nature? The Protestant learned that salvation was available for all and could be demonstrated in empirical action. The Christian Scientist interpreted salvation as that which was his deepest and most inclusive craving, love, and came to the conclusion that through Christian Science he was setting in motion nonempirical forces whereby he achieved not only empirical ends, love and its surrogates generically named success, but nonempirical ends also, harmony with that which is good: God, Good, Love. More, by achieving such harmony (at-one-ment), a religious end, he also accomplished his empirical purposes, a magical process.

Thus Christian Science, a movement which is Protestant in origin, recruitment, ethic and personality type, has, after three and a half millenium*s*, transformed the transcendent and omnipotent Yahweh for whose will man was but an instrument into an impersonal, immanent, and omnipotent nonempirical force wielded at will by man. The locus of decision had shifted, man and God changed places; the "junior partner of God" had promoted himself. With Christian Science ascetic Protestantism described a full circle by bringing back into Western culture the magic it had originally banished. The crown on the cross symbolizes the completion of the process which Protestantism had foreshadowed when it replaced the cross by the weathervane. The Creature turned upon His creator because that was the kind of Creature His creator had created.

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NOTE: Through an oversight the works of Burckhardt, Darlow and Moule, Gordon, Lauer, and Rivers were not eliminated from the Bibliography when portions of the first draft citing them were omitted from the present version of the manuscript.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GERMAN BASIC PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

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GERMAN BASIC PERSONALITY STRUCTURE

It will be recalled that in the initial chapter a comparison was drawn between the characteristics of what Piaget designates as autonomous and heteronomous morality and the kind of childhood training which tends to produce each type. A considerable body of evidence has been brought forward to support the thesis that ascetic Protestant societies have institutionalized an ethic which substantially approximates the first of these morality types. Further, it has been shown that this ethic is intimately related to a pattern of family life in which the "exchange" element in human relations has been embodied in the form of an emphasis upon affectional response and a tendency toward egalitarianism of respect on the part of the marriage partners. Nothing, however, has as yet been mentioned about societies which approach the heteronomous type of morality and rearing, except for suggestions that Germany was in this category and that Lutheranism played a part in the molding of German personality and social structure analogous to that of ascetic Protestantism in the English-speaking societies.

It is not proposed to delve at length into the evidence because the nature of German personality and social structure impinges upon the central problem of this monograph only at one point, the incidence of Christian Science influence in Germany and the explanation for the degree of its penetration in and manner of distribution among Lutheran societies.[1] Furthermore, the substance of the present writer's conception of the effect of Lutheranism upon Germany has appeared elsewhere[2] while there seems to be substantial agreement among students of the subject upon the authoritarian nature of the representative type of German personality and social structure.[3] Hence, for present purposes, it is unnecessary to do more than outline certain well-known features of German social relationships.

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[1] It is important to distinguish Scandinavian from German Lutheranism. See, for example, Jonassen, 1947, p. 680.

[2] Thorner, 1945.

[3] Cf. Kecskemeti and Leites, 1945, for example.

Due to the normal process of socialization in the strongly authoritarian type of family there tends to develop a complex of predispositions revolving about power and power relations. The child learns that those in superordinate positions ought to and do resort to various forms of coercion or ready overriding of conflicting wills, while obedience is the correct reaction for the subordinate. Power per se is prized, feared and respected. It enhances the actor's self-respect when he can exercise it or identify with a power-wielder upon whom he is dependent. This modal personality is at home in, helps mold and is interdependent with a hierarchical social structure reminiscent of the barnyard pecking order in its insistence upon the prerogatives of power. Emotional security and the avoidance of coercion become associated with exact conformance to the expectations and directions of superiors. The elaboration of formalized relationships with a highly complex system of symbols which sharply define a person's general social position and specific statuses and roles is a psychologically congenial development. Formalism minimizes those threats to emotional equilibrium which inhere in undefined situations because all parties to a relationship are aware of and conform to the socially required and sanctioned behavior in any given situation.

The contrast with English-speaking societies, especially the United States, is striking; Germany has institutionalized the coercive or power element in her family pattern in contradistinction to the ascetic Protestant societies' emphasis upon affectional response.[1] It will be recalled that in a certain sense the need for affectional response in the latter tended to make man and wife, parent and child equals. Response was in turn associated with mutual respect which was earned not by submission to superior power but through achievements rated by impersonal and universalistic criteria, principles which could be legitimately invoked against the father and his exercise of coercion. This development, however, was largely inhibited by the Lutheran demand for unconditional obedience to the stronger as the basis for response, recognition and hedonic gratifications. The child could receive from the mother affection that was unearned except for complete obedience to whatever rules the father might choose to lay down. She could offer her children no adequate protection against him, she could only intercede as a suppliant. There was thus little basis for moral independence rooted in universalistic principles. Loyalty and obedience to (power-wielding) superiors (rather than to principles) are major German virtues.[1] The tacit right of the stronger to exercise compulsion on the weaker merges with the need to deflect the consequent aggression of the latter upon those who are weaker still to form attitudes that have made the idea and practice of fair play something alien to German culture.[2] The attitudes and ideas which stem from a manner of rearing strongly influenced by coercion suggest that they are inimical not alone to the concept of fair play but to its universalistic and impersonal standards. Implicit in this attitude is the tendency not only to restrain aggressive impulses against the weaker but one which regards specific rules as oriented toward or in behalf of those subjected to them and not as orders which, regardless of content and context, must be obeyed because they issue from a source of power.[3] The relation to Piaget's moral heteronomy is as obvious for Germany as is moral autonomy for English-speaking peoples. The differences are clear enough to enable the observer to draw conclusions about whether or not Christian Science is more or less congenial to one or another of the patterns.

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[1] It is this basic and all-pervading difference which, it will be seen, accounts for the differential receptivity of Lutheran and ascetic Protestant societies to Christian Science.

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[1] Cf. Cassirer, 1946, passim, for the Hegelian exemption of the state and its leaders from the demands of morality.

[2] Cf. "Germany After the War," 1945, p. 390, and Henry Adams' observations on a German gymnasium (Carter, 1947).

[3] Since the Golden Rule is the common cultural property of Christendom its differential institutionalization in the fair play pattern is due to other than formal religious teaching.

APPENDIX B

THE NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTION

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For present purposes it is unnecessary to conduct a poll in every country to ascertain what proportion of the population, if any, makes New Year's resolutions. All that is needed is to establish whether or not the practice is known to exist generally in a given society. If upon explanation and illustration one or more Peruvians, for example, say that this is the first time they have ever heard of such a custom or that it is unknown in their country, their statements are accepted as valid evidence. This is considered sufficient evidence for Peru because it may be assumed that the same question addressed to any normally intelligent adolescent or adult native or long-time resident of the United States would in the great majority of cases result in an affirmative reply even if the person does not himself make resolutions. In other words the New Year's resolution is a well established practice knowledge of which is part of the incidental information generally known about the American culture.

If contradictory statements are elicited that may be taken as an indication of the culturally limited distribution of the practice, limited, that is, either territorially or according to population subdivisions. This interpretation is, however, subject to qualification. In some cases the informants might have made an affirmative reply on the basis of their projection of current American knowledge back upon their original habitat. What follows is an abstraction from the unpublished report of an investigation carried out according to these principles.

The New Year's resolution is unequivocally known and practised in the United States, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, New Zealand, Australia and English-speaking Canada, all of which together constitute the main body of ascetic Protestant-influenced societies. But it does not seem to be part of the cultural endowment of twenty-two countries in which Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and the Greek Orthodox faith are predominant: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, the U.S.S.R., and Venezuela. To generalize: with the possible exception of the

Netherlands[1] emotional inhibition as a basic personality trait and ideal is not characteristic of this group of countries.

Contradictory statements complicate the classification of the next two groups, the first of which includes Argentina, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Salvador, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. Here, as in the first group, Catholicism and Greek Orthodoxy predominate; there are no ascetic Protestant countries with the partial exception of Germany where this element crops up among the Free Churches. Thus the most reasonable deduction seems to be that the New Year's resolution diffused from English-speaking sources, usually by way of the highly educated classes from the evidence at hand.[2] Despite the apparent simplicity of the idea of self-reform at the start of a new year, the evidence testifies to the contrary; the probabilities favor a single invention and its selective diffusion. The hypothesis of diffusion from an ascetic Protestant, English-speaking society is bolstered by the position of the New Year's resolution in the third and last group of countries: French-Canada, Eire, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.

In this group the evidence is ambivalent. Although Western or Protestant Canada is familiar with the New Year's resolution, French-Catholic Canada is apparently not. Here a combination of ethnic, linguistic, and religious elements are involved. The first two may be eliminated from consideration because the weight of evidence testifies against the New Year's resolution as an indigenous custom in France or any purely Catholic land. In Eire the linguistic element, English, is constant while religion (Catholic) is a variant. But informants contradict each other about its presence in Southern Catholic Ireland while they agree that it exists in Northern Protestant Ireland. The testimony for the resolution in Norway and Sweden is to the effect that if it is found there it has been introduced along with Methodism in the 1860's and 1870's mainly from the Anglo-Saxon world, especially the United States.[1] This is the most direct evidence found for the ascetic Protestant derivation of the practice, a view which is supported by the nature of its distribution. Furthermore, the inability of Lutheranism to produce it during a period of approximately four centuries in Norway and Sweden suggests that the same is true of Germany; that is, if the New Year's resolution does exist there it is due to diffusion from English-speaking sources. These same considerations apply to Lutheran and Catholic Switzerland. The principle of parsimony argues that in the Calvinistically influenced portions of this country the culture trait in question is probably an Anglo-Saxon import. The enduring attraction of Switzerland for English and American tourists combines with the ambivalence of testimony about the New Year's resolution to cast doubt about its diffusion from Switzerland.

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[1] Although Czechoslovakia is mainly Roman Catholic its Protestants are chiefly Calvinistic. This and the fact that a people as emotionally reserved as the Dutch who also have a Calvinistic background do not know the New Year's resolution suggest that the invention of this idea occurred but once and then diffused. Latvian Protestantism does not seem to be of the type which influenced English-speaking peoples. Czechoslovak and Dutch Protestantism are much closer to the latter variety.

[2] In a letter of August 10, 1949 the Museum für Volskunde disclaimed any knowledge of this practice in Austria and the Middle European countries but thought that it might be found in Northern Germany since the (Gallup Poll) illustrations in my letter of inquiry suggested a Protestant origin, with perhaps a "Pietistic-Herrnhuter [ascetic Protestant] coloring." No mention had been made by the present writer of any hypothesis concerning this problem.

While it has not been possible to establish beyond doubt the ascetic Protestant origin of the resolution the data point toward Methodism as its probable source. The purpose of John Wesley's initiation of the New Year's Eve watch-night service in 1742 was to lead the dissolute coal miners of Kingswood toward emotional discipline and a methodical way of life. Wesley himself lived in a manner entirely congruent with the demands he made upon others, a life which commenced almost from birth with a routine that produced methodical behavior, emotional discipline and a universalistic ethic.[2] His diary, habit of making resolutions, and deliberate organization of an orderly way of life attest to the success of his mother's training.[1]

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[1] According to information supplied, among others, by Professor Gunnar Westin of the University of Uppsala and Pastor Göte Bergsten of Stockholm.

[2] Emory, 1825, vol. 3 (vol. 1 of the Journals). See the letter from his mother, dated July 24, 1732, in which she explains her method of rearing children (pp. 262-266). Cf. this letter with that published by the Methodist Mrs. Pfeiffer cited in ch. 3.

Given this emphasis on the ordered life, it occasions no surprise to learn that Wesley expelled from the Methodist society those whose cursing, drunkenness, laziness, etc. showed a lack of emotional discipline.[2] Furthermore, it would be quite in character for him to suggest explicitly and by example the desirability of making resolutions at the beginning of a new year and, by means of his charismatic influence, establish the practice among his followers. While it would be difficult if not impossible to incorporate specific resolutions in any formal service, the generalization in the watch-night ritual covenant appears to offer the opportunity for making individual private resolutions. In this connection certain entries in Wesley's Journal at the beginning of a new year are suggestive:

"Mon., Jan. 3, 1757, I visited a poor dying backslider, full of good resolutions; but who can tell when these imply a real change of heart? And when they do not, when they spring from fear only, what will they avail before God?

"Mon., Jan. 10, 1757. I walked to Bishop Bonner's with Mr. D--, lately entered at Cambridge, full of good resolutions."[3]

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[1] Cf. Curnock, 1938, 6:379; also 1:43 ff. This moral accounting is also part of the "sectarian" Alcoholics Anonymous routine.

[2] Lipsky, 1928, pp. 185-186. Concomitant with this emotional sobriety is the animus against superfluous adornments on male and female clothing (pp. 189-190). Wesley's own severity of dress and his preaching on this subject may be placed in the context of the paramagical function of jewelry and ornate garments for persons troubled with insecurity feelings. Wesley regretted that he had not followed the Quakers and Moravians in adopting a uniform style of dress for Methodists (p. 190).

[3] Curnock, 4:193. The coupling of "backslider" with "good resolutions," both terms connoting the same normative ideal of personality and behavior, is especially interesting because evidence (which time and space do not permit presenting here) points strongly to one of the first Protestants, G. Joye, as the man who introduced "backslider" into the (Continued on the following page)

Although the linkage of the New Year's resolution and Methodism has not been established beyond doubt there is little reason to question their psychological affinity. And if an earlier source is sought after, as likely as not it would have to be another ascetic Protestant variant[1] or, if not, some similar combination of norms and attitudes.

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[3] (Continued from the previous page)
English language by way of his translation of Jeremiah as early as 1534. This antedates by almost 50 years the earliest usage of "backslide" and "backslider," and by almost 20 years Knox's usage of "backsliding," as given in the *New English Dictionary*. A comparison of Luther's choice of words where the Protestant bibles use variants of backslide is interesting; the connotations of the differences point in the direction of those personality type differences analyzed in chapter two and Appendix A.

[1] An earlier union of covenant, resolution and backslide occurs in R. Alleine, 1664, pp. 293 ff. Wesley included practically the whole of this work in his 50-volume edition of *A Christian Library* and used it in the covenant renewal begun in 1755 (Green, 1906, p. 204).

APPENDIX C

ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM AND SCIENCE

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ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM AND SCIENCE

The Christian Science Monitor's very capable and frequent presentation of news about the natural sciences and technology is relevant here because of the alleged relation between ascetic Protestantism, science, and invention. It has been pointed out that the *Monitor's* adherence to its very high standards of objective journalism is based in good part on an emotional inhibition which raises the threshold at which ego-involvement occurs. Unbiased and impersonal reporting is thereby facilitated. The orientation of Christian Science dynamism is toward the control of the actor's situation as well as his own impulses; and within the situation the Christian Scientist is very much interested, if one may judge from the amount of space devoted to it by the *Monitor*, in the application of physics and chemistry to industry and agriculture.[1] But the findings of these sciences in their practical relations to medicine are ignored; there is no space for stories about medical discoveries not only because the utility of material means for healing is dogmatically denied or considered unnecessary (at least ultimately), but because the investment of affective interest in purely religious healing is so heavy that it may not be put in jeopardy. On this point ego-involvement is relatively near the surface. Although the Christian Scientist's orientation of interest in the sciences as a means of controlling physical nature in behalf of human ends is parallel to that of seventeenth century Protestant scientists and inventors,[2] this aspect of the interdependence of religion and science[3] is not the subject at issue here; no more than the undoubted importance of the cognitive attitude of the major religions, whether of indifference, opposition or encouragement, toward empirical science. Present interest is in a psychological trait which enables the scientist to pursue his task, and the relation of ascetic Protestantism to this personality element. An examination of one aspect of successful scientific work will bring out the importance of this element and clarify one strand of the complex relation of ascetic Protestantism to the development of science.

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[1] *The New York Times* in comparison pays relatively little attention to this side of an industrial society.

[2] Merton, 1938.

[3] For example, Whitehead, 1948, pp. 13-14.

The essence of the scientific method is put into a nutshell by Durkheim as follows:

> ". . . in a general way, it [science] brings a spirit of criticism into all its doings, which religion ignores; it surrounds itself with precautions to 'escape precipitation and bias,' and to hold aside the passions, prejudices and all subjective influences."[1] A student of the conditions underlying scientific invention discusses the affective factor:

> "Le facteur affectif, lorsqu'il échappe au contrôle de la raison et de la volonté est une des principales causes d'erreur. Il engendre la prévention et la précipitation. Le savant n'est plus cet observateur impartial, ce raisonneur impassible et rigeureux dont l'oeil, suivant le mot de Bacon 'ne s' humecte jamais des passions humaines'. Il croit voir ce qu'il désire; il cède à tous les sophismes de la logique du sentiment; en un mot il tombe dans ce que Pasteur après Bossuet considérait comme le plus grand déréglement de l'esprit: 'croire les choses vraises parce qu'on désire qu'elles le soient.'"[2]

And in association with this quality is the capacity to concentrate upon ideas, to make the effort necessary to understand them, to verify them and deduce the fruitful consequences. There is no discovery or invention without this element of will.[3] Emotional discipline then is a basic presupposition of scientific work. It likewise underlies the impartiality or freedom from preconceptions interfering with accurate observation and the patience to withstand disappointments, discouragement, to find facts contrary to one's hypotheses, to check possible errors in one's findings, to refrain from rushing into print before such verification.[4] All these are aspects of affective neutrality, of suspension of judgment in emotionally important situations--a capacity which is relatively difficult and not at all common.[1] These personality traits, however, are more frequent among persons with childhood experience of affectional frustration and emotional repression. This pattern of family relations and attitudes coupled with personality ideals of emotional reserve is characteristic of ascetic Protestant societies. This is not to be understood as denying the existence of such patterns and personalities in Jewish or Catholic societies, only that they are "accidental" so far as these faiths have molded Jewish and Catholic family life, while they are the more or less regular, if unanticipated, outcome of ascetic Protestantism.[2] There is no need to deny the presence of affective neutrality among Catholic inventors and scientists. It would be as far from the truth to make this obviously erroneous claim as to argue that modern science is a creation of ascetic Protestantism. In this study ascetic Protestantism and Catholicism are often used as elliptical expressions for the presence and absence, relatively speaking, of affectional frustration and emotional inhibition as typical of the family life and personalities under consideration. Thus Leonardo da Vinci was, in this sense, as atypical a personality in the Catholic society of his time as Benvenuto Cellini was typical.[1]

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[1] 1947, p. 429. In the succeeding sentences Durkheim fails to attach sufficient importance to this fundamental attitude of science as differentiating it from religion.

[2] Picard, 1928, p. 175.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 180, 120.

[4] *Ibid*., pp. 128-133.

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[1] Compare Whitehead on "the peculiar balance of mind required for science," "the patience of minute observation," "the state of imaginative muddled *suspense*" [italics added], pp. 6-8. "In the face of a fact, there is only one possible course of action for the scientist, namely acceptance, no matter how much the fact may be at variance with his anticipations, and no matter what havoc it may wreak on his carefully thought-out theories. In the face of the fact, the scientist has a humility almost religious." (Reported by Tully Nettleton in an article characteristically headed "Editor Accents Man's Domination" in C.S.M., April 2, 1949, p. 7.) He might have added that unlike religion it is the scientific *method*, the publicity of scientific verification, which *forces* humility on the scientist.

[2] The dispassionate and logical persuasiveness of Puritan sermons was noted above. The same accent is found in C.S.M. advertisements for *Science and Health*, for example: "Christian Science makes its arresting appeal to man's God-given intelligence, . . . For this reason the appeal of Christian Science is not emotional, but reasonable, logical, and inspiring--awakening irresistibly that desire to '*know the truth*' (John 8:32) which Jesus promised would make us free." (April 6, 1949, p. 8; C.S.M. italics.)

If the relation between emotional control and scientific work is borne in mind there is no difficulty in reconciling the scientific and technological fruitfulness of ascetic Protestantism with the productivity of Catholics in these fields prior to the advent of Protestantism as well as the creation of the beginnings of modern science by the classical Greeks. Although the motivation may well have differed in antiquity, the Renaissance, and 17th century England,[2] emotional discipline as a personality trait of scientists and inventors remains as a psychological prerequisite.[3] It is worth recalling that Greek philosophy, art, and mode of life stressed restraint, the mean; hence, to a certain extent emotional control is implied as actuality, norm, and ideal. Nor is the difference in subject matter of the natural and social sciences sufficient to require of the natural scientist much less in the way of emotional discipline and capacity to withstand its strains. It seems to be a misconception to suppose that, for example, Galileo and Newton, were indifferent to the results of their investigations, that their emotions were not engaged in behalf of one rather than another solution.[1] This view fails to take into account, sufficiently at least, the investment in emotion and labor that a researcher has in a hypothesis that he has advanced, that is his. Nor is this altogether useless for the development of science. The stubborn defence of one's own hypothesis and the search for evidence in its behalf combines with a searching criticism of rival hypotheses and their evidence so that the strength and weakness of each case are sharply delimited.[2] However, even though the subject matter of the natural scientist is less intimately related to his value-preferences than that of the social scientist, it remains as a prerequisite for both that affective neutrality be preserved if valid results are to be attained. Further, since the capacity to bear up under the tensions of uncertainty involved in emotionally important pursuits[1] is not given equally to all men, in all societies, at all times, differences in this capacity could reasonably be expected to manifest themselves in scientific discoveries and inventions--other things being equal (which they rarely or never are.)

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[1] Compare Merejkowski's The Romance of Leonardo da Vinci with Cellini's Autobiography. The former reveals his hero's emotional inhibition and its formation in childhood as clearly as Cellini demonstrates his emotional ebullience. Freud in his own study, Leonardo da Vinci, A Psychosexual Study of an Infantile Reminiscence, 1916, approves and confirms the psychological accuracy of the novel.

[2] The classical Greek may not have joined with the Puritan in praise of "the industry of the experimental scientists" (Jones, 1936, p. 210) but he would have sympathized with those "Compilers of encyclopedias [who] assured their readers that a study of the physical world and of man in his mental and physical aspects revealed profitable lessons of God's will. Thus what we should today call psychology, physiology, and natural history found a pious excuse, in addition to the newer appeal of an aroused curiosity." (L. B. Wright, 1935, p. 555. In view of his ample illustration of the religiosity of the period, "pious excuse" seems to be unnecessarily invidious. Compare Merton, 1938.)

[3] The suspension of judgment, the abstention from jumping to conclusions, is opposed to that drive to present action to which the actor is urged by the immediacy of his desires and the pressure of his situation--as was noticed in the discussion of the sources of religion and magic.

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[1] Sullivan, 1949, pp. 175-176.

[2] Faith in one or more basic propositions incapable of empirical verification is common to both science and religion, but the crucial difference between them lies in the absence in science of a prohibition or taboo against the critical examination and, if necessary, rejection of such postulates. A scientist may or may not do so but such criticism is recognized as legitimate and necessary to the advancement of science, regardless of the possible consequences to the established system or the "vested interests" of its proponents. There is nothing sacred about the contents and results of science; if anything is sacred it is the normative code that defines the scientific method and includes, as the only goal, the pursuit of truth. To take up the scientific attitude toward a religion is, in effect, to achieve a degree of emotional and cognitive detachment inimical to faith. It is a very different matter for the scientist to knowingly accept the unverifiable nature of a basic premise and the tentative nature of current principles, realizing that they will be dropped sooner or later, but proceeding with their use "as if" they were "true"; the religious person, however, cannot do the same if he is at all serious. The bottom would be knocked from under him and the functional utility of his faith undermined.

The same is true of modern secular "faiths." Compare Sartre (1947, pp. 166-167) on the position of the Communist in regard to the scientist.

R. R. Willoughby may be consulted on the psychological costs of scientific work as well as the tensions beneath magic and cognate phenomena. While both science and construction are successful preventives of anxiety, ". . . scientific endeavor is capable of . . . tolerating the accumulation of energy (anxiety) for a time before resolution [the discharge of tension] becomes possible; thus the undertaking of a scientific problem implies the existence of a certain degree of tension, and the organization and carrying through of the more or less complicated procedures necessary to yield an unequivocal answer necessitates the ability to tolerate and increase that tension. *This appears to be a principal reason why the scientific method was developed very late and by individuals who were both somewhat detached in outlook and thoroughly disciplined* and why even yet it cannot be applied by undisciplined individuals to any problems or by any individuals to problems engendering an unusual amount of tension such as social problems. The necessity to 'do something about it' is so imperative that it is not possible to withstand the tension."[2]

"The positive effects of low-degree anxieties or anxieties mastered or assimilated in certain ways, as by aggression, are socially extremely effective. *The mild anxiety of the north and west European nations*, combined with their adaptability, appears to have been chiefly responsible for their steady aggrandizement *throughout the last three centuries*; but within the group there have developed islands of people with practically no anxiety, such as the mountaineers of the southern United States, and these have been characteristically 'backward.'"[3]

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[1] Witness a favorite saying of Freud's: "Man muss ein Stück Unsicherheit ertragen können.", quoted by Hanns Sachs, 1944, p. 147. This slender volume, incidentally, reveals something of the charismatic feeling aroused by Freud among his disciples.

[2] P. 498; italics supplied. Compare Lecky, 1903, 1:72.

[3] Willoughby, p. 505; italics added.

These observations of Willoughby's emphasize precisely those aspects of ascetic Protestantism brought out earlier in this study. Although he does not raise the question of the reasons for the appearance of mild anxiety and "adaptability" (a term which apparently refers to the rational attitude in the selection of means in the attainment of ends) three centuries ago, the whole context of Willoughby's paper suggests socio-cultural and not constitutional-genetic explanations. While there may well be hereditary differences in a population's constitutional capacity to endure tension, there is little reason to believe that the population make-up of the inhabitants of northern and western Europe suddenly experienced a mutation, or that the Appalachian mountaineers mutated back again. When this is taken into consideration along with the psychosocial changes produced by ascetic Protestantism in these same areas since the seventeenth century, then the imputation of a causal relationship between ascetic Protestantism and the expansion of scientific and technological achievement seems to be quite reasonable. This position is taken by Max Weber and confirmed by Merton (1938), but vigorously rejected by Sorokin who adduces statistical evidence against it in his _Social and Cultural Dynamics_.[1]

Before examining the data it is necessary to present and analyze their interpretation.

"These data, as well as the total character of Table 9, well refute Max Weber's contention that _Protestantism was the cause of the growth of rationalism_, _scientism_, _technology_, and so on. We see that long before the emergence of Protestantism discoveries began to increase in Catholic countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal); that even after its emergence during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries the scientific contributions of the Catholic Italians was higher than that of any other country. Only during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries did hegemony pass to Protestant countries. All this constitutes a strong refutation of the direct causal relationship between Protestantism and scientism which Max Weber and some of his followers have attempted to establish. . . . The basic error in his [Weber's] doctrine lay in assuming that in considering an organism passing from one stage to another in the course of which many anatomical, physiological, and psychological traits are changing, one may take one of the traits, say, the appearance of a mustache, for the cause of muscular, glandular, and mental changes experienced by the organism. *Protestantism as the cause of capitalism, scientism, and many similar developments* is precisely a case of the 'mustache' being taken for the cause of all the other changes."[1] There appears to be a subtle distinction between the first and last sentences. The first seems to imply that Weber's thesis was that Protestantism did not *create* but *stimulated* the growth of tendencies already in existence. This is a proposition which he probably would not dispute. The last sentence, however, imputes to Weber the view that Protestantism *by itself created capitalism, scientism*, etc., a position for which it is difficult to find anything really substantial, especially in view of the statements in his *General Economic History*.[2] It is hardly conceivable that the scientific and technological productivity of Catholic countries prior to and after Protestantism's appearance should have escaped Weber's encyclopedic learning; even without the benefit of Darmstaedter's work published twelve years before Weber's death. But these considerations are subsidiary to certain features of Sorokin's use of Darmstaedter's findings and to the manner of listing the latter.

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[1] 1937, 2:150-153; Table 9, note 2.

It is important to remark the importance of the fact that *discoveries* are listed in the *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Tecknik*[3] and that these are classified according to period and country of origin. Nothing is thereby revealed of the religious affiliations of the individuals responsible for the discoveries and inventions; of course nothing is given as to their personalities either, and this would have had even greater significance for present purposes. The effect of assigning, for example, the 130 inventions and discoveries made in France during the 17th century[4] is twofold: (1) One does not know how many men were responsible. (The importance of this will appear shortly.) (2) If France is classified as Catholic then all the discoveries and inventions are "credited" to Catholicism. The contributions made by French Protestants in this period are glossed over. In the same way Catholic scientific work in mainly Protestant lands is ignored. The nub of the problem is the religious background of the individual men and women who did the work. And this, in turn, means in the present context whether or not these people were characterized by firm emotional discipline. A direct contradiction of the hypothesis concerning the relation of this trait to scientific work would require what is not available: sufficient evidence for every inventor and scientist which would show in approximately half the cases that they were not marked by emotional discipline. As an imperfect substitute for this kind of evidence it is necessary to resort to the religious background as a crude index of the presence or absence of emotional control, relatively speaking, that is. An emotionally inhibited Catholic inventor like da Vinci would count in favor of the hypothesis. It is clear then that the numbers of Protestants and Catholics and of Catholic and Protestant scientists and inventors should be ascertained for each country and period. If it is known then it is possible to infer in an approximate but yet useful manner the relative scientific productivity of Catholic- and Protestant-influenced people. If the Protestant part of a nation in proportion to its numbers consistently produces more inventions and discoveries than the Catholics do, then, other things being equal, it is legitimate to look for an explanation in the psychological, social, and cultural effects of Protestantism. For these reasons no weight may be attached to the changing proportions which, according to Sorokin's tables, different countries have contributed to the total number of inventions and discoveries in various periods.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, note 16; also p. 500, note 29; italics added.

[2] For example, chapter 22, particularly pp. 313-314. Compare also Parsons, 1937, pp. 529-530, and the paper by Fischoff, 1944.

[3] Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[4] Table 9.

Although satisfactory population data for periods prior to the 18th century are not to be had,[1] the estimates given by A. P. Usher, in lieu of anything better, are used in Table 6 which has been designed to show the productivity of the population of each country as measured by the number of inventions and discoveries per million. Another complication is introduced by the fact that the population figures are for single years while those for inventions and discoveries are for fifty and twenty-five year intervals. To palliate this discrepancy the average of the inventions and discoveries for the twenty-five years before and after a given population estimate has been arbitrarily assigned to the population estimated to be living at that date; for example, in England there were ninety-six for the period 1676-1725 and therefore forty-eight are assigned to the population of 1700. Where fifty-year intervals are involved a quarter of the century's inventions and discoveries is used. Since the period 1901-1908 is only about a third of that preceding 1900 (1876-1900) the figures for the former period have been multiplied by three, the sum added to the number for 1876-1900 and the result divided by 2 (and placed in parentheses in the table.). Thus, for England, 83 x 3 = 249 plus 503 = 752 ÷ 2 = (376) inventions and discoveries for 1900. In addition there is presented for this date the total for thirty-three years (1876-1908), 586 x 25/33 (1876-1900/1876-1908) = 444. As all the countries have been treated in this way it is felt that no injustice has been done to any, especially since all that is derived from the table based on these manipulations is a very approximate estimate of the relative productivity of inventions and discoveries per million of population. The approximate nature of the estimates must be emphasized in view of certain of the footnotes to this table. It will be noted that the tabulated results are based upon population figures which do not discriminate between proportions of Protestants and Catholics, and are therefore subject to the same criticism as has been directed against Sorokin's data which constitute the basis of Table 6, even though the defect of ignoring population size has been eliminated. An attempt will be made, however, to blunt the edge of criticism still further by the application of certain observations of Alphonse de Candolle.[1]

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[1] Kuczynski, "Population," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 12:240-248; and A. P. Usher, 1930, are drawn upon.

It is plain that the last column of this table is susceptible of a very different interpretation than that which Sorokin endows the variations of the absolute number of discoveries and inventions in his Table 9. It is obvious that those countries which have not been seriously affected by ascetic Protestantism (Italy, Spain, and Portugal) have never exceeded even at the height of their productivity and during the peak of their political power up to the present (that is, 1900) the scientific and technological productivity of the ascetic Protestant nations. And in the latter the period between 1600 and 1700 has witnessed a remarkable increase in productivity which in most cases was maintained in the next century. It is important to take into consideration the reasons why a lapse of time must be expected after the introduction of ascetic Protestantism. Not only must two or three generations be allowed for reorientation of traditional social

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[1] 1885.

TABLE VI

PRODUCTIVITY OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1300-1900[1]

COUNTRY	DATE	POPULATION[2]	NUMBER OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS[3]	NUMBER OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS PER '000,000[4]
England (U)	1340	2,225	3	1.34
"	1400	1,669	.75	.45
"	1500[5]	6,500 (4,500)	1.75	.27 (.39)
England, Wales (U) Scotland, Ireland	1600[5]	6,500 (4,500)	19.0	2.92 (4.22)
United Kingdom (U)	1700	7,700	48.0	6.23
England (K)	1701	6,122	48.0	7.84
England, Wales (K) Scotland, Ireland	1800	15,983	295.5	(1771:20.02) 18.47
England and Wales (K)	1800	9,006	295.5	32.81
England (K)	1801	9,156	295.5	32.27
England, Wales (K) Scotland, Ireland	1900	41,507	444 (376)	10.70 (9.06)
England and Wales (K)	1900	32,435	444 (376)	13.69 (11.59)
Scandinavia (U) Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland	1600	2,000	6	3.00
Scandinavia (K) Denmark, Norway, Sweden	1700	2,606	5.5	2.12
" " "	1800	4,212	10.0	(1770:1.24) 2.37
" " "	1900	9,919	57.6 (55)	5.81 (5.54)
Germany (U)	1340	20,000	6	.3
"	1400	15,000	3.25	.22
"	1500	20,000	13.25	.66
"	1600	20,000	16.5	.83
"	1700	15,500	46.5	3.00
" (K)	1800	23,000	230.5	10.02
"	1900	56,430	944.7 (913.5)	16.74 (10.19)

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[1] The names of countries and the population at specific dates are from (U) Usher and (K) Kuczynski; the figures for Discoveries and Inventions are from Sorokin, Table 9, both as to the number of inventions and discoveries and their period--as explained on p. 479.

[2] Population figures with 000 omitted.
Since the Black Death is estimated as having reduced the European population in the middle of the 14th century by at least 25%, the figure for 1400 is 3/4 of that for 1340 as given by Usher for England, France, Spain, and Italy.

[3] The number of discoveries and inventions in 1301-1350 has been assigned to the population of 1340.

[4] The four figures in the next to the last column have been inserted to take advantage of Kuczynski's population estimates for those dates. The productivity ratio has been secured by multiplying the number of Discoveries and Inventions (1751-1800) by the proportion which each population date is to 50, and dividing the result by the population estimate.

[5] The referents of the names for "England" are uncertain; the Discoveries and Inventions assigned to England may not refer (or they may) to the England of Usher and Kuczynski. The population increase between 1400 and 1500 is improbable, but is somewhat lessened if it is assumed Usher's England of 1500 is equivalent to his England and Wales of 1600 which had a population of 4,500,000. Because of Kuczynski's statement that there is no reason to suppose a larger population for 1700 than 1600, or a much larger one for 1600 than 1300, the figure given by Usher or Kuczynski for 1700 is assigned to a country for 1340, 1500, and 1600, unless another figure is given by Usher.

TABLE VI (Continued)

PRODUCTIVITY OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1300-1900

COUNTRY	DATE	POPULATION	NUMBER OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS	NUMBER OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS PER '000,000
France (U)	1340	21,000	4	.19
"	1400	15,750	1	.06
"	1500	16,000	3	.19
"	1600	16,000	21.0	1.31
"	1700	20,000	32.5	1.63
" (K)	1701	21,136	32.5	1.54
"	1800	26,900	273.	(1770:4.83) 10.15
"	1900	38,935	449.2(436.5)	11.54 (11.21)
Italy (U)	1340	10,500	15.0	1.43
"	1400	7,875	8.5	1.08
"	1500	13,000	13.75	1.06
"	1600	13,000	37.0	2.85
"	1700	11,250	18.0	1.60
" (K)	1800	18,124	32.0	(1770:1.07) 1.76
"	1900	32,475	87.7(89.5)	2.70 (2.76)
Netherlands (U)	1340	3,000	5	1.67
"	1400	2,250	3	1.33
"	1500	3,000	7	2.33
"	1600[6]	3,000	22.5	7.5
Holland (U)	1700[6]	1,175	20.5	17.45
" (K)	1800	2,150	22.0	10.23
"	1900	5,179	97.0(94)	18.73 (18.15)
Switzerland[7]	1500	---	1.25	-----
"	1600	---	.5	-----
"	1700	---	2.5	-----
" (K)	1800	1,750	9.5	5.43
"	1900	3,318	50.7(53.5)	15.30 (16.12)
Spain (U)	1340	6,000	1.0	.17
"	1400	4,500	4.75	1.06
"	1500	6,000	9.75	1.63
" [8]	----	---	---	----
"	1700	5,700	2.5	.44

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[6] The differences in nomenclature and population are Usher's. Whether what is now Belgium is included in the Netherland figures I do not know. He lists Belgium and Holland separately in his Table 4, with 1,550,000 and 1,175,000 respectively.

[7] There are no population figures for Switzerland earlier than 1800.

[8] No separate figures for Spain and Portugal in 1600.

TABLE VI (Continued)

PRODUCTIVITY OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1300-1900

COUNTRY		DATE	POPULATION	NUMBER OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS	NUMBER OF DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS PER '000,000
Spain	(K)[9]	1797	10,541	5.0	(1769:.25) .47
"		1800	12,000	5.0	.42
"		1900	18,618	4.6 (4)	.25 (.21)
Portugal	(U)	1340	4,000	.75	.19
"		1400	3,000	1.75	.58
"		1500	4,000	4.75	1.19
"		---	---	---	---
"		1700	1,575	0	0
"	(K)	1800	3,100	.5	.16
"		1900	5,427	1.5 (1)	.28 (.18)
Spain and Portugal	(U)	1600	10,000	4.5	.45
United States[10]		1800	5,308	17.5	3.3
" "		1900	75,995	509.0 (555)	6.7 (7.3)
Russia	(K)[11]	1600	12,000	.5	.04
"		1700	12,000	2.5	.21
"		1794-6	29,000	7.5	(1767:.13) .26
"		1800	36,000	7.5	.21
"		1900	99,700	99.2 (97.5)	.99 (.98)

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[9] 1797 is the date given by Kuczynski for his population figure. His, likewise, the 1794-6 date and population for Russia.

[10] The United States population and dates are from the Statistical Abstract, 1946.

(It should be recognized that the figures for Discoveries and Inventions in Russia are tentative, as are those for all the other countries, since they are subject to correction as a result of Pravda's recent researches in this field.)

[11] The population figures for Russia in 1600 and 1700 are my adaptation from those given by Kuczynski for 1718-24 and 1761-67, 14,000 and 19,000 (minus 000) respectively. No importance is attached to them and no conclusion drawn.

and cognitive interests, but--and this is more important for the present study--the change in family patterns and attitudes and the subsequent personality changes in the direction of emotional repression require a similar period. Nor should it be forgotten that transformations of interests and outlook may impinge upon scientific productivity despite stability of personality type. On the other hand, personality changes need not have an effect in this sphere if traditional social and cognitive interests ignore it.

In the discussion of specific countries the questionable nature of the population estimates precludes any serious comparison of scientific productivity prior to perhaps 1600; thereafter only broad differences bear upon the problem of the influence of personality type changes on scientific output. The minimum figures for England reveal a sharp rise in productivity in the 17th century and at least a doubling of the rate in the 18th. The sharp drop in the following century may be related to the traditionalization of industrial and commercial practices which had proved successful in less competitive days.[1] But the uncertainty of the referents and their population denoted by England, etc. as well as the more accurate statistics for later periods render suspect more than the very broadest of generalizations. One important factor in the productivity changes is related to the presence or absence of Scotland; the efflorescence of science in the late 18th century depended heavily upon personnel from Scotland where ascetic Protestantism had thoroughly penetrated, in good measure through the efforts of John Knox.[2]

Scandinavian productivity remained stationary until the 19th century; it may or may not be coincidence that it was during this period that ascetic Protestantism gained headway in that region.[3] Something of the same nature may account for the trend of German productivity. The authoritarianism and traditionalism of orthodox Lutheranism offer little encouragement for innovation in this field which did not really get started until a period when Pietism and other ascetically inclined sects developed. It is interesting that these are included under the title Free Churches. Furthermore, the latter part of the 17th century witnessed the forced migration to Germany, Switzerland and elsewhere of the French Huguenots whose industrial talents were recognized and invited by the German authorities. The financial and political interests of these authoritarian rulers sanctioned and fostered industrial inventiveness. It is not unlikely that these refugees and their descendants whose labors aided the commerce and industry of the host country also contributed to the number of discoveries and inventions credited to these nations. By the same token the French roster was correspondingly depleted; in this way the relatively low level of French productivity from the middle of the 16th to the middle of the 18th century is partly explained. The rapid rise in productivity by 1770 (4.83) and 1800 (10.15) is partly due to the unfettering of French Protestant energies.

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[1] Veblen, 1915. The gradual obsolescence of its plant is well known.

[2] Hogben, 1940, p. 242; the educational program was part of the training for the establishment of the Kingdom of God in Edinburgh (idem). Hogben refers to the exclusively or almost exclusively Protestant background of the early leaders of modern science (ch. 13).

[3] See Jonassen, 1947, and Appendix B on the New Year's resolution relative to Norway and Sweden.

French scientists are particularly worthy of investigation because Sorokin points to France as Catholic and to French Catholic scientists like Descartes and Pascal as evidence of the incorrectness of a causal relation between Protestantism and science.[1] It has already been noted that, contrary to Sorokin's thesis, the productivity per million for the wholly Catholic societies, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, never exceeded, even at the height of their political power, the proportionate output of those countries in which ascetic Protestantism had thoroughly established itself; France is the only exception--if it and, by implication, all of its scientists are considered wholly Catholic. But this is very far from the actuality as de Candolle's data demonstrate. He points out that the number and nationality of individuals chosen as foreign associates and correspondents by the Royal Academy of Berlin, the Academy of Sciences of Paris and the Royal Society of London, and the chronological variations in these choices are significant of the state of the sciences in the different countries.[2]

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[1] 2:509, note 29.

[2] de Candolle, pp. 212-213. It is worth noting for the relation of science and ascetic Protestant (and Christian Science) dynamism oriented toward the control of nature that de Candolle's term "savants" denotes not "men who know" but "savants progressistes," those whose work made for "progress,"
(Continued on the following page)

As exemplars of religious faith it seems reasonable to expect more rigid discipline in the families of Protestant clergymen as well as a more intimate grounding in the faith's ideas and interests. The combination should lead to a significant differential in favor of scientific pursuits according to the hypotheses advanced concerning the presumed relationship between Protestantism and science. De Candolle found to his surprise that among the foreign associates of the Academy of Paris and the Royal Society of London a great many were the sons of Protestant clergymen.[1] Although the European population according to the Almanac de Gotha of 1870 was composed of *twice as many Roman Catholics as Protestants*, the list of the Academy of Paris' foreign associates, that is, the non-French scientists, during the period of 1666-1883 contained *only 18 Catholics and 80 Protestants out of a total of 101*. And this proportion was the product of a non-French European population in which there were 1 1/2 Catholics to 1 Protestant.[2] The denominational proportions among the foreign associates of the Royal Society of London in 1829 when the greatest number of *French* scientists were listed were actually evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants although the latter constituted but a small minority of all Frenchmen; for 1869 the Protestants somewhat *outnumbered* the Catholics. These figures are seen in their real significance when it is considered that outside Great Britain and Ireland there were in Europe 139.5 million Catholics to 44 million Protestants.[3] Similar findings are made for England: On the Academy of Paris list of foreign associates there is not one English or Irish Catholic although over a fifth of the population was Catholic.[4] Examination of the same list reveals only one Catholic scientist out of fourteen Swiss foreign associates despite the fact that the population of that country was in the proportion of 1 1/2 Protestants to one Catholic.[1] The difference in scientific contributions de Candolle attributes to the influence of religion, whether through education in the family and schools, through custom or morals (*moeurs*) and ideas, or by way of heredity.[2]

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[2] (Continued from the previous page)
in the sense of advance of civilization as the control of nature. See pp. 217-218. This book confirms the relationship of Protestantism and science. Unfortunately the *Dynamics* is unaware of the de Candolle referred to in Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories*.

[1] P. 294. It is worth noting that he argues *against* heredity as a major factor in this phenomenon (pp. 294-296, 280-282).

[2] P. 330.

[3] *Idem*.

[4] Pp. 330-331.

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[1] *Idem*.

[2] *Idem*. He lays great weight upon the propensity to freely examine and choose one's opinions free of authoritarian control (pp. 332-336).

While the primary focus of this study is upon the element of emotional inhibition which permits rational thought, the critical attitude permitted by this affective neutrality and inherent in ascetic Protestantism may not be neglected; it is a feature long noticed by its students.

The Roman Catholic parochial school ". . . defends the child against certain elements in the American social logics such as 'materialistic ideals, *independence of judgment and a certain basic scepticism* (except where patriotism is involved) . . .'" (Warner and Srole, 1945, p. 238; italics added. The inner quote is from W. F. Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World*, p. 361.) Incidentally, this anti-sceptical and anti-individual judgment seems to be fairly common to "Catholic sociology" in parochial schools at most if not all levels; the functional utility of this sheltering of the Catholic child for the preservation of faith is too obvious for comment.

Milton's *Areopagitica* voices a different sentiment: "A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only because his pastor says so, or the assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy." (R. B. Perry, 1944, p. 426). This independent and critical attitude may be exasperating to the minister: "The priest doesn't preach a sermon, he gets up there and lays down the law. I take hours to make up a sermon, and then they don't believe me!" (Aileen D. Ross, 1943, p. 457). The Protestant *judges* the content of the sermon and has the *right* to do so.

According to the New England Congregational idea of the church, "Only those [the Saints] able to discern false doctrines and false teachers could choose pastors wisely or administer excommunication justly." (Miller, 1939, p. 436). The man in the congregation has the duty to be critical of his

(Continued on the following page)

The influence on scientific productivity of host countries by Protestant refugees noted above is strikingly demonstrated in Table 6.[1] Eleven out of 101 foreign associates of the Academy of Paris from 1666 to 1883 is an enormous proportion in de Candolle's opinion for the descendants of Protestants expelled from Belgium, France, Moravia, and Italy, a group of less than a million.[2] If then there are elements in a population which favor scientific work and others indifferent to it, the grouping of discoveries and inventions by nationality obscures this fact and the consequences drawn from it. Thus the proportionate Swiss contribution to the number of scientists conceals the productivity of the Protestant cantons.[3] Their output would be shown clearly by the elimination of the Catholic cantons, as would England's by eliminating Ireland, etc.[4] The failure to do this is precisely the defect of Sorokin's data, a defect which vitiates his criticism of the relation between Protestantism and science. Examining further the differences in attitude and aptitude of Swiss Protestants and Catholics relative to science, de Candolle points out that the Protestant cantons (Basle, Berne, Geneva, Neuchatel, Vaud, and Zurich) had in 1869 a population of 1,157,000 compared to 1,343,000 for the rest of Switzerland. But the former contributed 545 members to the Société helvétique des sciences naturelles while the other cantons had only 298. The exclusively or almost exclusively Catholic cantons with 25% of the Swiss population (including two cities of some importance) had 14% of the society's membership. In the mixed cantons the Protestants were more strongly represented. Thus, in Switzerland as in Europe as a whole, there is the same religious division of interest in and encouragement of science.[5]

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2 (Continued from the previous page) minister's views; the minister must continuously validate his right to office by achieving the conviction of his independently minded "flock" on rational grounds. There is less of a basis for Protestant hero worship; a Winston Churchill is swept out of office after winning a war.

[1] de Candolle, pp. 339-342, 459.

[2] P. 342.

[3] P. 417.

[4] P. 404.

[5] Pp. 424-425.

Returning to Table 6 and French productivity per million of population, it is reasonable to conclude that the probabilities heavily favor the proposition that Protestant scientists have contributed to "Catholic" France's productivity far out of proportion to their numbers. It follows that but for this Protestant contribution France's productivity would have been substantially lower. Nor is this all; France has gained, as a partial legacy directly and indirectly inherited from Protestantism, the scientifically favorable tendency toward freedom of examination, for example, under the form of Port Royal and the Gallican Church.[1]

In the 16th century the term Netherlands referred to what later became Belgium and Holland. In reaction to the Spanish Inquisition the seven northern provinces which were chiefly Protestant declared their independence from Spain while the lower Roman Catholic "Belgian" provinces remained under Spanish control. But de Candolle remarks that Belgium's most glorious scientific period was in the second half of the 16th century and that the Spanish persecution forced a large number of Belgians with their industry, arts, and wealth into Holland, England, etc.[2] The inference is that these scientifically and industrially significant individuals were Protestants from the southern Catholic provinces of the Netherlands at a time when its productivity is shown to have been relatively high (7.5 per million). A century later the northern Protestant half of the Netherlands, now known as Holland (and fortified by the descendants of these Protestant refugees), shows an astonishing increase in productivity, 17.45 for a population of 1,175,000, less than half of the undivided country. What the productivity of the Catholic provinces (Belgium) was at this time is not ascertainable from the available data, but that it had declined is certain from de Candolle's statement that its peak was in the second half of the preceding century.

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[1] De Candolle, p. 469. The Jansenist movement within Catholicism was distinctly critical and ascetically inclined until its suppression by a Papal Bull early in the 18th century. "The French atmosphere, not being adapted to either of these two [English, and Spanish and Portuguese air] has given rise to the *ecclesia gallicana*, a mixture of Catholicism and Calvinism which allows for more freedom than in any other land." (Zinzendorf, quoted from O. Uttendörfer, *Zinzendorfs Weltbetrachtung*, by Pinson, p. 79.)

[2] Pp. 458-459.

Not much remains to be said about Switzerland after rereading de Candolle's observations. It may be inferred despite the lack of population data that its output was low until the authoritarianism of the Republic of Geneva had started to weaken in the third decade of the 18th century.[1]

The productivities of the Roman Catholic strongholds, Spain, Portugal, and Italy,[2] speak for themselves.

De Candolle's remarks anent the contributions of the United States to men of science are particularly apt; he notes that the American scientists were all from the six North Eastern states which should be considered apart from the rest of the country in calculating its share. In his view the Pilgrims resembled the Protestant exiles from France and Belgium in their long-established intellectual culture, devotion to ideas rather than interests, their plain and hard-working life. The rigor of ancient Calvinism gave way in the United States at about the same time as in Geneva and Scotland.[3] Otherwise neither Franklin's nor Harvard's scientific influence could be easily explained.[4] If, simply for argument's sake and on the basis of de Candolle's comment on the derivation of American scientists, all of the discoveries and inventions of the United States in 1800 are attributed to the population of New England (1,233,011),[5] the latter's productivity ratio would reach the unusually high figure of 14.2; unusually high if it is realized that the first important American discoveries and inventions (four of them) were made barely half a century earlier (1726-1750).[1] Comparison with Russia makes this achievement even more remarkable for Russia really started making its contributions at least seventy-five years before.[2] While it would be probably incorrect to credit all of American inventiveness at that time to New England most of it probably does belong there and is strong evidence in behalf of the ascetic Protestant-science causal relationship. The productivity of Greek Orthodox Russia in the same period is negligible even in comparison with that of the United States as a whole.

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[1] Pp. 335-336.

[2] In the 16th century Calvinism penetrated northern Italy whence came in that period Italian Protestant refugees who were mostly highly skilled artisans. It may be surmised that the peak of Italian productivity (2.85 in 1600) may have been related to this influence. See. F. L. Baumer's review of F. A. Norwood, The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force, in The Review of Religion, 8 (January, 1944), 187-189.

[3] de Candolle, pp. 450-451. Incidentally, the Scotch eminence in science and engineering is a by-word.

[4] Idem.

[5] Statistical Abstract, 1946, p. 6.

In conclusion it is worth quoting Weber's mature reflections on the problem of the relation between ascetic Protestantism and science, not merely to contrast them with the interpretation cited at length above, but to accentuate the difference between his level of causal relationship and the psychological level focused upon in this study.

"Its practitioners [the products of ascetic Protestant communities and their unconsciously developed mechanism for personality formation in a capitalistic direction] occupied themselves with technical problems and were experimenters of the first rank. From art and mining experimentation was taken over into science. . . . Almost all the great scientific discoveries of the 16th and even the beginning of the 17th century were made against the background of Catholicism. . . .

"Scientific progress and Protestantism must not at all be unquestioningly identified. The Catholic church has indeed occasionally obstructed scientific progress; but the ascetic sects of Protestantism have also been disposed to have nothing to do with science except in a situation where material requirements of everyday life were involved. On the other hand it is its specific contribution to have placed science in the service of technology and economics."[3]

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[1] Sorokin, Dynamics, Table 9 (2:150).

[2] Idem.

[3] 1927, p. 368. The last sentence indicates the orientation of the ascetic Protestant, as of the Monitor's interest in applied science as news, toward the control of his physical environment.

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